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EARLY HISTORY
OF
HUDSON BAY

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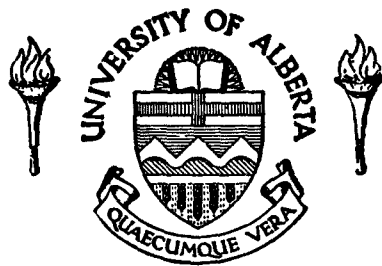
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THE PUBLICATIONS OF
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XVIII

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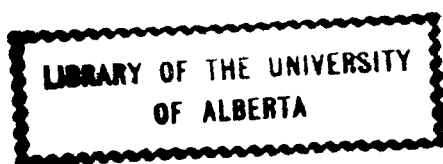


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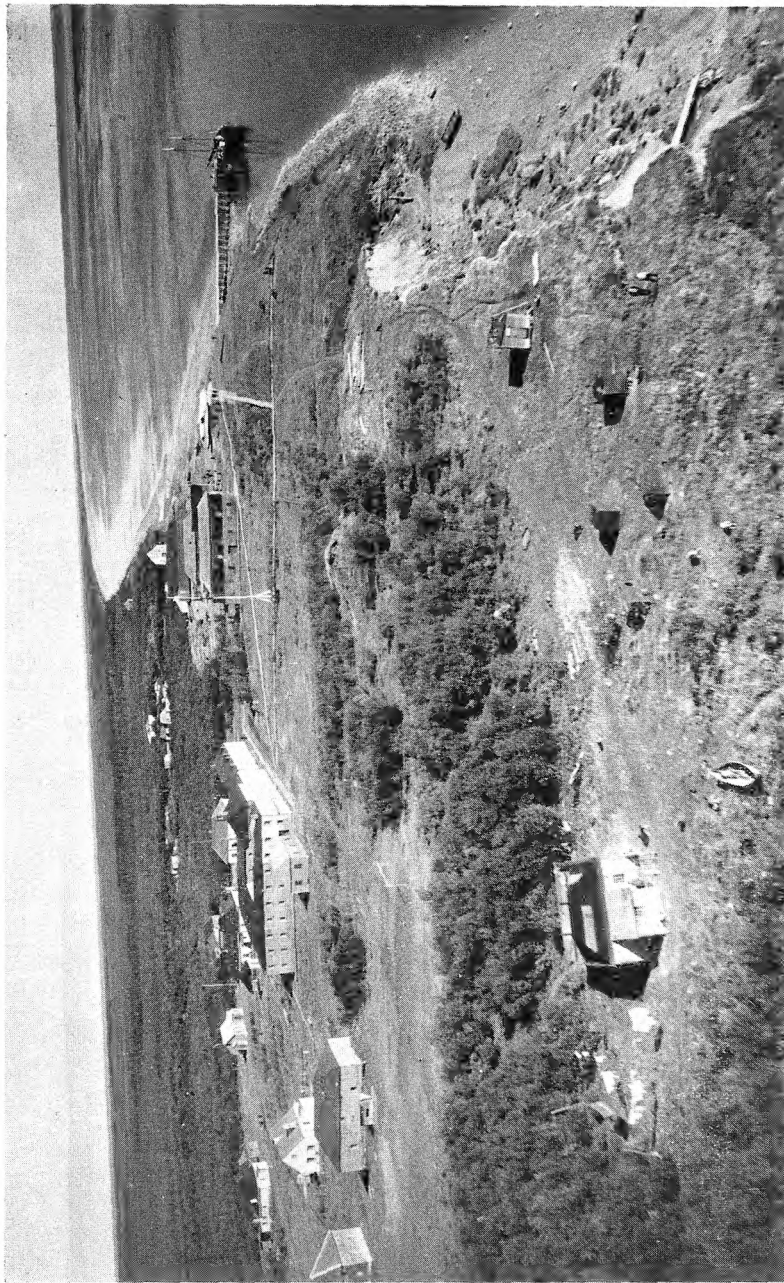


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YORK FACTORY FROM THE AIR, LOOKING NORTH-EASTWARD

Hayes river on the right; the old Warehouse, with the look-out tower on top of the front section, in the middle of the clearing; and the site of old York Factory, in the woods beyond the small house, in the middle distance.

DOCUMENTS
RELATING TO THE
EARLY HISTORY OF
HUDSON BAY

EDITED
WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

J. B. TYRRELL, M.A., LL.D.

TORONTO
THE CHAMPLAIN SOCIETY
1931

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PREFACE

THE early struggles for the possession of Hudson Bay, the discovery of the bay itself, the first delimitation of its size, and of the extent and character of its shores, were due to the desire of English merchants to open up a navigable route to China and India north of the American continent in order to expedite the trade in silks and spices.

After the bay was discovered and when a "North West Passage" to China was shown to be difficult, if not impracticable, its very existence was almost forgotten for half a century, and it was really French-Canadian fur-traders from the St. Lawrence and the great Canadian lakes who next drew attention to its existence as a strategic centre for the prosecution of the trade in furs with the Indians. They saw clearly the advantage that trading centres established on the bay, to which navigation would be open from Quebec or the sea ports of France, would have over trading centres on the rivers of the interior, that could only be reached and supplied by canoes from Quebec or Montreal, and they determined, if at all possible, that they would go to the bay, establish trading-posts there, and collect the rich reward that was waiting for the men who would first undertake this northern trade. They themselves were unable to finance an expedition to the bay by sea, for that would necessitate the purchase or charter of a ship, as well as a large quantity of provisions, supplies, and trading goods of various kinds. But the advantages over the methods of trade then in vogue in Canada were so great that they

did not doubt but that their countrymen would come to their assistance. They, therefore, sought such assistance in Quebec, but it was denied them. They then appealed direct to France, but with no better success. Unable to obtain support in either Canada or France, they went to England and there secured the sympathy and support of some wealthy merchants. As a result an English ship was sent into Hudson Bay in 1668 (some records say 1667), and from that time till 1713, when the bay was formally ceded by France to England by the Treaty of Utrecht, each of these two nations disputed the right of the other to its shores and waters. Hostile acts between them were of constant occurrence, and each had to be always prepared to defend itself from the other. The accounts here reprinted, and, when in French, translated into English, give vivid descriptions of the insecure conditions of life and property among the adventurous pioneers of that time.

Father Silvy's journal, here reprinted and now first published in an English translation, gives an account of a voyage in two ships from Quebec to York Factory in 1684, of life on the Hayes river in the winter of 1684-5, and of the return of the ships and party to Quebec in 1685. This journal was published by Le P. Camille de Rochemonteix in the preface to *Relation par Lettres de L'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1904), pages xxxiii-lxiii. The original manuscript is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. M. Germaine Braunstey, one of the officers of the Bibliothèque Nationale, has very kindly compared the published text with the original manuscript, and has made all necessary corrections down to the minutest detail, so that the letter here printed may be depended on as being correct.

The translation into English here published was made from the French by Miss Agatha Leonard of the staff of the library of the University of Toronto.

Father Marest, whose French letter is here reproduced, wrote also a Latin letter, which gives a brief account of the French expedition against York Factory in 1694, and of the winter spent on the banks of Hayes river in 1694-5. It was published by Le P. Camille de Rochemonteix in the preface to *Relation par Lettres de L'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1904), pages xxxi-xxxiii. It was doubtless sent out to Quebec by the ship that left York Factory in the summer of 1695.

Father Marest remained at York from 1694 till it was recaptured by the British in 1696, when he was carried a prisoner to England. It was after his liberation, and after the death of Iberville, probably about 1706 when he was engaged in the mission to the Illinois, that he wrote the French letter here republished. This letter was first printed in *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses* (Paris, 1713), volume X. Thwaites in *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland, 1900), volume LXVI, pages 298-334, enumerated a number of later editions of these *Lettres Edifiantes*, and for fuller details of these editions, reference should be had to his monumental work. Briefly, the first edition was in thirty-four volumes "some of which were issued several times before the last one was printed. The original edition of volume I was printed at Paris in 1702, and the thirty-fourth (the last volume) at Paris in 1776."

The text here reproduced is from the first, or one of the first editions, now in the library of the University of Toronto. The title of the volume from which we have copied the letter is as follows: *Lettres / Edifiantes / et /*

Curieuses / écrites des Missions / Etrangères, par quelques Mission / naires de la Compagnie de Jésus / X. Recueil / A. Paris/ Chez Jean Barbou, rue S. Jacques/vis-à-vis le Collège de Louis le Grand / M D.CCXIII. avec Privilège du Roi.

Another edition, with the various letters arranged in an orderly manner, was published in twenty-six volumes at Paris in 1780. In 1810 another edition, also in twenty-six volumes, was published in Toulouse, and it was from volume VI of this edition that Thwaites copied the journal which he republished. It differs considerably in detail from the one here published. In 1819 the *Lettres* were published in Lyons in fourteen volumes. Later editions were published in Paris in 1824-6, 1829-32, 1838-43, 1861, and 1875-77.

Several translations into English of these *Lettres* have also appeared, among them *The Travels of Several Learned Missioners of the Society of Jesus into Divers parts of the Archipelago, India, China and America* (8 volumes, London, 1714). A copy of this translation was kindly furnished me by Mr. R. Douglas of the Geographic Board of Canada, Ottawa, and has here been used as a basis for the English text, though it has seemed advisable to make a number of changes in order to describe correctly the character and conditions of the country, as they are known to me.

Later translations appeared in London in 1743 and 1762; in Dublin in 1839; in New York in 1846; and in Albany in 1866 and 1873.

The third part consists of the *Epître, Avertissement, Privilège du Roy*, and first nine letters (chapters) of *Histoire de L'Amérique Septentrionale* by M. de Bacqueville de la Potherie. The *Privilège du Roy* is dated 1721,

but the first edition is said to have been published in Paris in 1716, while other editions followed in 1722, 1723, and 1753. It was issued in four small volumes, illustrated with twenty-nine plates and maps.

The edition from which the letters are now reprinted is from a copy in my own library of that published in Paris in 1753, which is a copy of the edition of 1722.

The translation into English is by Professor D. R. Keys, Professor Emeritus of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Toronto, and Miss Alison Ewart and Miss Doris Shiell of the staff of the library of the University of Toronto.

The fourth part is *The History of Hudson's-Bay* comprising the last chapter of volume I of *The British Empire in America, containing the History of the Discovery, Settlement, Progress and present state of all the British Colonies, on the Continent and Islands of America*, by John Oldmixon (2 volumes, London, 1708). A second edition of this book was published in 1741, and from the preface of this edition the following extract is particularly interesting:

The History of Hudson's Bay may be depended upon; for the Author took it from original Papers, he having had in his Possession the Journal of a Secretary of the Factory [Gorst], the Commissions and Instructions of some of the Governors, and other Memoirs, out of all which he could gather no more, and does not believe, that even by the Company's Books much more is to be gathered. Application was made to Persons concerned in the Affairs of the Company, for Matter to continue an Account of them to this time; but it being not come to Hand before the Book was printed, the Events there are not of Importance enough to keep the rest of this History longer from the Publick; the author knows not of any Alteration in the History, but the Cession of the Bay by the *French* in the *Utrecht* Treaty, and the Revival of the Fur-Trade, which is lately very much increased in this Kingdom, by the great Use of Furs in the present Fashion. The Reader will perceive he is not about looking into a spurious Performance, nor that he will venture much in giving Credit to what he reads, since there is no Dispute to be made of the Goodness of such Information; from which the Historian has deviated as seldom as was consistent with Decency.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF AUTHORS

ANTOINE SILVY

Father Antoine Silvy was born at Aix in Provence, France, on October 16, 1638. He studied in a school conducted by the Jesuit fathers in that city, and, as a result, he became imbued with a desire to go as one of their missionaries to New France. When twenty years old he entered the Jesuit order as a novitiate. After fifteen years of study and teaching, he was sent to Quebec in 1673. In 1674, he was sent to Michillimackinac as a missionary to the Ottawas, and during the next four years he travelled throughout the country between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi river. In 1678, he was transferred to the Tadoussac mission which embraced the country along the Saguenay river and Lake St. John from the St. Lawrence river to Hudson Bay.

In 1684-5, he accompanied La Martinière as chaplain on his expedition to York Factory and back to Quebec, and, in 1686, he accompanied Troyes, in the same capacity, on his overland expedition from Montreal to Moose and Albany forts. While Iberville returned to Quebec the same year, Silvy remained at Albany till 1693 when he returned to Quebec, leaving Father Dalmas to continue his work among the Indians. In Quebec, he joined the Jesuit College as professor of mathematics and there remained, teaching and writing, until his death on May 8, 1711, in his seventy-third year.

The journal here published gives a full account of his journey to the Hayes river with La Martinière in 1684-5.

GABRIEL MAREST

Father Gabriel Marest was born at Laval, France, October 14, 1662. He entered the Jesuit order as a

novitiate in Paris in 1681. From 1683 to 1688, he taught classics and rhetoric in the College of Vannes, the following year, philosophy at Bruges, and then for three years, 1690-1693, he taught theology at Paris. The winter of 1693-4 was spent at Rouen, and, in the latter year, he sailed for Quebec, where he was immediately chosen to act as chaplain to Iberville's expedition against the English trading-posts on Hudson Bay. His account of the voyage and of the capture of York Factory is given in the letter printed herein.

In 1695, Iberville returned to Quebec leaving Maricourt in charge of York Factory, renamed Fort Bourbon, and Father Marest with him as chaplain to the garrison and missionary to the Indians who came there to trade. In 1696, the English attacked and retook York Factory, captured the French garrison and took them prisoners to England, taking Father Marest with them. After his release, he went to France and then back to Quebec. From Quebec he went as a missionary to the Ottawas for two years, and then to the country of the Illinois, where he remained till his death in September, 1715.

LA POTHERIE

Claude Charles Le Roy de la Potherie (1668?-1738?) author and soldier, was the son of Charles-Auguste Le Roy, seigneur of La Potherie and Cossart, and Catherine-Françoise du Signet de Monville, and was born in Guadeloupe about 1668. He entered the administrative service, and, in 1689, was commissary of the navy at Roscoff, Brittany. In March, 1697, he was made commissary of the fleet, which set out from La Rochelle on April 8, to attack Fort Nelson. In May, 1698, he was appointed controller-general of the navy and fortifications of

Canada, and arrived at Quebec on November 28. In 1703, he appears as assistant major at Guadeloupe; but he returned to Canada about 1714, and he died about 1738. He married on March 11, 1700, Elisabeth de Saint-Ours, daughter of Pierre de Saint-Ours, and by her he had three children.¹

JOHN OLDMIXON

John Oldmixon was one of the facile and prolific English writers of that literary period at the beginning of the eighteenth century known as the age of Anne. He was born in 1673, the son of John Oldmixon of Oldmixon, near Bridgewater. From 1696 to 1704, he published a number of poems and plays, the latter of which were played in several of the theatres in London. In 1708, he published *The British Empire in America*, his first historical work, written to show the character and great natural resources of the American colonies, and the consequent advantage that they would be to England. He afterwards wrote *The Secret History of Europe*, *The Secret History of France*, *The History of England*, and other books, pamphlets, and articles. In 1718, he was appointed collector of the port of Bridgewater, a position which he held for a number of years. He died on July 9, 1742, at his house in Great Pulteney Street, London.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the preparation of this volume, I have received great assistance from Mr. W. S. Wallace, secretary of the Society, who is largely responsible for the revision of the proofs and the supervision of arrangements while it was going through the press.

¹The foregoing sketch of his life is taken from *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography* by W. Stewart Wallace (Toronto, 1926), p. 221.

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For the English translations of the French texts I am indebted to the following:

Silvy—This translation, based on that which appeared in *The Travels of Several Learned Missionaries, etc.*, with such alterations as seemed to me to be necessary, was kindly furnished me by Mr. R. Douglas of the Geographic Board of Canada, Ottawa.

Marest—Miss Agatha Leonard of the Library of the University of Toronto.

La Potherie—Professor D. R. Keys, Miss Alison Ewart, and Miss Doris Shiell.

I am also indebted to Mr. Douglas for suggestions and assistance in many ways, and particularly for sending me an abstract of Knight's journal at York Factory, taken from the copy in the Dominion Archives in Ottawa.

The map of Churchill harbour, and that of Hudson Bay and straits at the end of this volume were kindly prepared by the North West Territories and Yukon Branch of the Department of the Interior. The map of the mouths of the Nelson, Hayes, and Fourteen rivers is a copy of part of the map of the Nelson and Hayes rivers which appeared in my report on the Hudson Bay Exploring Expedition, 1912, published in volume 22 of the *Reports* of the Ontario Bureau of Mines, with the addition of a sketch of French creek furnished by the Canadian Air Force, and my own survey of Fourteen river, and also a few notes and alterations.

J. B. TYRRELL

Toronto, August 15, 1930.

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INTRODUCTION

THE STRUGGLE FOR YORK
FACTORY IN HUDSON BAY

INTRODUCTION

THE STRUGGLE FOR YORK FACTORY IN HUDSON BAY

THE discovery of Hudson Bay was a direct and major result of the search for a western route to Cathay and the Indies, which had been actively prosecuted since the days of Columbus and the Cabots, in the latter part of the fifteenth century.

Sir Martin Frobisher in 1576-8, and Captain John Davis in 1585-7 explored the eastern end of Hudson strait, and George Weymouth in 1602 entered it for an uncertain distance, but it remained for Henry Hudson in 1610 to discover the bay, and by the sacrifice of his life on its waters in the following year, to impress his name indelibly on that great inland sea.

This was Hudson's fourth and last voyage made to discover a route to Cathay and India shorter and better than that around the Cape of Good Hope. His first voyage was made on behalf of the Muscovy Company. After taking communion at the Church of St. Ethelburga the Virgin, Bishopsgate Street, London, on April 19, 1607, he sailed northward in search of a north-east passage to India and China, and on that trip he reached north latitude 80 degrees 23 minutes, which was the farthest north not only for that time, but for one hundred and fifty years thereafter. The following year he made his

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second voyage, also north-eastward, and also on behalf of the Muscovy Company.

In 1609 he entered the service of the Dutch East India Company, and on April 6 set sail in the *Half Moon* on his third voyage. He started north-eastward as before, but in the early part of May his men mutinied, and obliged him to turn westward, and on September 11 he sailed into the mouth of the Hudson river, on whose banks the city of New York now stands. He ascended the river as far as the site of the city of Albany, whence he sailed back to Dartmouth in England. From this place the *Half Moon* was taken back to Holland.

On April 17, 1610, Hudson sailed from London in the bark *Discovery* on his fourth and last voyage in search of a northern passage to India. This time he sailed through Hudson strait into Hudson Bay, which he then considered to be the hoped-for Western Sea, and turned southward into James bay, where, despairing of farther progress that year, he went into winter quarters. In the the following spring, when the ice broke in the bay, he started northward, but on Sunday morning, June 22, his men mutinied, bound him, put him on board the shallop, and turned him adrift, along with his son John and seven others of his crew who were loyal to him. That is the last that is known of him, and the bay itself is his monument.

In May of the following year, 1612, Sir Thomas Button sailed from England with two ships, the *Resolution* and *Discovery*, of about fifty-five tons each, to look for Henry Hudson, and to continue the search for the north-west passage to India. He passed through Hudson strait, and on entering Hudson Bay, instead of turning south in order to cruise in the vicinity of where Hudson and

his companions had been cast adrift the year before, he continued westward until he reached the west shore in north latitude 60 degrees 40 minutes, probably not far from Cape Eskimo. He then turned southward, and passed the mouth of Churchill river without seeing it. On August 15 (Old Style) he sailed into the mouth of a great river, which he subsequently named Nelson river.

Although it was still early in the season, he decided to proceed no farther that year, but to remain where he was for the winter. He established his winter quarters on the north-west bank of the river, at a point where a little stream, now known as Heart creek, flows down through a narrow valley, and over a gravel beach into the river. During the winter, his crews suffered severely from scurvy, and Francis Nelson, his sailing master and mate of the *Resolution*, died and was buried. From him the river received its present English name. The *Resolution* appears to have been badly damaged by the ice in the spring, and in July, when they started for England, they abandoned her and returned in the *Discovery*.¹

The next to do any exploring in Hudson Bay was Jens Munk, a Dane, who, on May 9, 1619, sailed from Copenhagen with two ships, the *Enhiorningen* and *Lamprenen* with crews of forty-eight and sixteen persons respectively. He sailed through Hudson strait, and across Hudson Bay into Churchill harbour, which he was the first to discover. He entered the harbour on September 7 (O.S.), and as the weather became cold and stormy he decided to remain for the winter. During the winter scurvy at-

¹In 1912, we found an old rusted three-pound cannon ball on the beach at the mouth of this creek, which had probably been left by Button three hundred years before.

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tacked the men, and all died but Munk himself and two sailors. They left the *Enhiorningen* in Churchill harbour, and on July 15, the three men set sail in the *Lamprenen*. They arrived on the coast of Norway on September 20, whence Munk returned to Copenhagen.

In 1631, Thomas James and Luke Foxe sailed into Hudson Bay. The latter returned to England the same year, while the former wintered at Charlton island and returned to England in 1632.

After the return of Captains Foxe and James from their unsuccessful expeditions, interest in the search for a north-west passage to China and India became quiescent for nearly a century, and the next recorded voyage to Hudson Bay, namely that of Captain Gillam in the *Nonsuch*, was for the strictly commercial object of procuring rich furs by trading with the Indians who lived on or visited its shores.

In order to understand clearly the conditions controlling the further exploration and the occupation of Hudson Bay, and the struggle between the English and French for its possession as described in the following pages, it is necessary to have some idea of the size and character of the bay itself and of the country surrounding it.

In the northern part of the North American continent east of the Rocky Mountains is an area of about 2,000,000 square miles, shaped like a great horseshoe, almost entirely composed of or underlain by granite or other hard rocks of Precambrian age. The surface is for the most part rocky or uneven, and very much of it is covered with coniferous forest, mossy swamps, or sedgy plains, and is not well suited for agriculture. The forest, extending northward as far as trees will grow, is the home

of many of the choicest fur-bearing animals in the world, and its possession and control was greatly desired by the fur-traders of both the French and English peoples.

In the middle of this horseshoe of forest and rock is the great inland sea called Hudson Bay, which extends from 51 degrees 10 minutes to 63 degrees north latitude, and from 77 degrees 20 minutes to 94 degrees 40 minutes west longitude with a greatest length from north-west to south-east of nine hundred and fifty miles, and a greatest width from east to west of six hundred miles.

It has a shore line, exclusive of islands, of many thousand miles, and an area of 576,000 square miles, and is more than eighty times as large as Lake Ontario. Its total drainage basin is 1,486,000 square miles, about three times the size of the drainage basin of the St. Lawrence river and the Great Lakes.

Until the era of railways, the rocky Canadian forest land was only accessible by water, either from the St. Lawrence river (River of Canada) and the Great Lakes to the south, or from Hudson Bay to the north. Into Hudson Bay empty many large streams which flow through the rocky forest zone around it, down which the Indians were able to travel easily in their birch-bark canoes, and to take with them loads of furs which they had secured during the previous winters.

In the country tributary to the St. Lawrence river and the Great Lakes, and in what are now the north-eastern states of the American Union, the French and English traders had been making large profits by buying the skins of fur-bearing animals from the Indians and selling them in the markets of Europe and Asia. In their search for furs two French traders, Groseilliers and Radisson, had penetrated far into the country north and

west of Lake Superior, had come into contact with many Indians who had been to Hudson Bay, and had become firmly convinced that the easiest and cheapest way to obtain many of the richest furs from the Indians was to sail into Hudson Bay with a cargo of trading goods such as the Indians would want (since this could be done at slight cost compared to the expense of carrying the same goods by canoe far into the interior country), to establish trading stores or posts at the mouths of the rivers on the shore of the bay, and from these stores to barter with the natives on their own hunting grounds.

These two men endeavoured to interest the Quebec merchants in their trading scheme, but without success; they then went to France and tried to interest the King's ministers and the merchants of Paris in their enterprise, but also without success. In desperation they turned to England where they interested several influential merchants and politicians, Prince Rupert among the number. It was 1666, the year of the great fire, when they reached London, and it was the spring of 1668 before two ships were secured and outfitted, one the *Nonsuch* of sixty tons, Captain Zachary Gillam, and the other the *Eaglet*, Captain Stannard, which was lent by the admiralty. They sailed from Gravesend on June 3, Groseilliers being on the *Nonsuch* and Radisson on the *Eaglet*. The *Eaglet* was damaged in a storm and was obliged to turn back, but the *Nonsuch* kept on to the bay, and arrived at the mouth of a river, called by them Rupert river, on September 29. Here Groseilliers and Gillam built Fort Charles, in which they wintered, and the following summer they returned to England with the furs obtained during the winter.

That same year Prince Rupert and his associates

applied for a royal charter, which was granted them on May 2, 1670, incorporating them as "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay." Almost as soon as the charter was granted, Charles Baily was appointed governor of the bay, with Thomas Gorst as his secretary, and these two were sent to Rupert river accompanied by Groseilliers and Radisson. Later in the same year, Radisson went with Captain Newland in the *Wivenhoe* to Port Nelson. In the following year, Groseilliers also visited Port Nelson, where he found the place at which Sir Thomas Button had wintered about sixty years before.

For the next four years the Company traded in the bay, with Fort Charles at the mouth of Rupert river as headquarters, and Groseilliers and Radisson as its principal traders with the Indians; and it is evident that the shores of the bay from Rupert river on the east to Nelson river on the west had become familiar ground to the fur-traders from England and to their two French associates.

In 1674, Father Albanel, a Jesuit, came overland from Quebec to Rupert river, bringing letters to both Governor Baily and Groseilliers. There had evidently been friction between Baily and the two French traders, Groseilliers and Radisson, and the arrival of the Jesuit brought matters to a crisis. Baily had been superseded by Lydall as governor, and consequently he returned to England that autumn. At the same time, he took with him Groseilliers and Radisson, and the Jesuit Albanel. On their arrival in London the officers of the Company supported Baily in whatever the quarrel may have been, and consequently Groseilliers and Radisson resigned from the service of the Company and went back to France, where they at once obtained work.

For the next seven years we know very little about the movements of the English traders in the bay, but we are assured by a memorial prepared by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1687 that it had had undisturbed possession of its trading-posts on the bay up to 1682. In this time, in addition to the trading-post on the Rupert river, trading-posts had also been built on the Moose and Albany rivers.

In the year 1680, Captain Draper in the *Albemarle*, one of the Company's ships, entered the Nelson river. In 1682 the Company sent Captain Zachary Gillam in the *Prince Rupert*, along with John Bridgar and eighty men, to Nelson river to build a trading-post there, and to establish a permanent trade with the Indians. Shortly before Bridgar arrived at Nelson river, Ben Gillam, a son of Zachary Gillam, in the *Bachelor's Delight* from Boston, ascended Nelson river as far as Gillam island, and built a post there, some remains of which I was able to trace in 1912.

It was situated on a terrace, now thickly wooded, twenty-four feet above the level of the water, and could be approached with a small ship through a channel west of Seal island. Much of the site had been washed away in the two hundred and thirty years since Gillam had built the little fort, but parts of two sides of the stockade could still be recognized by the butts of spruce stakes still standing in the ground, though much decayed. They were about twelve inches long, had been sharpened with an axe at their lower ends, and were charred at the tops where they had been burned off. In a thick layer of clay beside a heap of stones, probably representing an old chimney, the stem of a clay tobacco pipe, and an old iron nail made by a blacksmith, were also found.

THE STRUGGLE FOR YORK FACTORY 11

During the previous year, that is in 1681, Radisson had persuaded M. de la Chesnaye, head of the *Compagnie du Nord* in Quebec, to outfit and supply him with two ships, the *St. Pierre* and *Ste. Anne*, and in the spring of 1682, he and Groseilliers sailed in them for Hudson Bay. They arrived at the mouth of the Hayes river at about the same time that Bridgar arrived in the Nelson river. They built a fort on the north-west side of the former river, at a point said to be fifteen miles above its mouth, which they named Fort Bourbon, and prepared to remain there for the winter. During the winter they seized the two forts on the Nelson river, namely, the one built by Ben Gillam on Gillam island, and the one built by Bridgar for the Hudson's Bay Company, burnt Ben Gillam's fort on Gillam island, and took all the occupants prisoners. Two of the four ships owned by the three parties, namely the *Prince Rupert* and the *St. Pierre*, had been wrecked either during the winter or during the spring of 1683. Most of the English were sent by Radisson in the *Ste. Anne* to the trading-posts of the Hudson's Bay Company at the south end of the bay, while Radisson himself and Groseilliers with the cargo of furs, and with Bridgar and Ben Gillam as passengers, set sail on July 27, on the *Bachelor's Delight*, leaving Groseilliers's son, Jean, with seven men, in charge of Fort Bourbon. During the summer of 1683, shortly after Groseilliers and Radisson had sailed for Quebec, two Hudson's Bay Company's ships, with Governor Abraham on board, reached the mouth of the Nelson river. A condition of active hostility between the English and French developed; two Englishmen seem to have been killed, and Jean Chouart retired up Hayes river to Rainbow island, five miles above the head of

tide water, where he built a house, and remained for the winter trading with the Indians.

The French and English kingdoms were at peace when Radisson seized and burnt the English posts on the Nelson river, and took possession of the country on behalf of France. Therefore he and his brother-in-law Groseilliers were not cordially received when they reached Quebec, and consequently they sailed for France as soon as possible. In Paris they found that the French government was not at all favourable to a rupture with England, and they were instructed to go to Fort Bourbon at once and restore it to the English. In the spring of 1684, therefore, Radisson went to England, re-entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, and immediately afterwards, on May 17, sailed for the mouth of the Hayes river, in the *Happy Return* in company with the *Success* and the *Adventure*, two other ships of the Hudson's Bay Company. On his arrival he took charge of Fort Bourbon (York), with a great store of furs which had been collected during the preceding winter and spring. Turning the fort over to the Hudson's Bay Company, and leaving Phipps in charge, he sailed for England on September 4 (O.S.), taking his nephew Jean Chouart, with him. On his arrival he received an enthusiastic welcome from the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company.

On September 22 (N.S.) of that same year, eight days after Radisson had sailed for England, two French ships sailed into the mouth of Hayes river bringing M. de la Martinière to take charge of Fort Bourbon (York Factory) and to prosecute the fur-trade there on behalf of the Compagnie du Nord of Quebec.

In the spring of that year, the Compagnie du Nord,

believing that Fort Bourbon was in the hands of the French, had outfitted these two ships to carry trading goods to Hayes river, and to prosecute trade with the Indians. They were commanded respectively by P. l'Allemand and P. Moisan, and the expedition was under the direction of M. de la Martinière, agent for the Quebec Company. Father Silvy, who has written the account of the trip, accompanied it as chaplain.

On July 12 the two ships left Isle aux Coudres in the St. Lawrence. They sailed through the strait of Belle Isle, and along the coast of Labrador. On August 12 they entered Hudson strait. It took them till September 3 to reach the west end of the strait and to enter Hudson Bay, and even then they did not reach Hayes river till September 22, when they were chagrined to find that Fort Bourbon, the goal to which they had been sailing for more than two months, was now in the hands of the English. The account of this expedition, with its troubled life during the winter, and its return to Quebec, is given in the journal of Father Silvy printed on subsequent pages.

They laid up their ships for the winter in the mouth of French creek, a small tributary on the south-east side of Hayes river, between two and three miles below York Factory, and built "three houses and a fort" on the east side of that creek, a mile or so above its mouth. As will be seen by Silvy's account, they spent an exciting winter in constant quarrels with their English neighbours across the river. On account of their enforced activity, the men do not seem to have been troubled with scurvy, as they had been in many earlier voyages. Part of their number went for a short time to young Chouart's houses on Rainbow island, but they soon moved back to their

headquarters at French creek. In the spring they appear to have revisited Rainbow island, and to have built a house there to replace the two that had been burnt, and then to have moved down to a location on the south-east bank of the Hayes river apparently about opposite Fishing island, where they were visited by a party of Crees in seventy canoes loaded with peltries. Having traded for these skins, they returned to French creek, and early in July sailed for Quebec.

On August 6, when between Salisbury and Digges islands, near the western end of Hudson strait, they seized one of the Hudson's Bay Company's ships, named *Perpetuana Merchant*, Captain Hume, of sixty tons burden, on her way to York Factory. They also attacked another of the Company's ships under Captain Richard Lucas, but she escaped, and they in turn were attacked by a third ship, apparently the *Success*, Captain Outlaw, bound for Albany, in which Bridgar, who had previously been at York Factory, was a passenger. The *Happy Return*, on which Radisson was a passenger on his way to York Factory, does not seem to have participated in these engagements.

The *Perpetuana Merchant*, with her crew and cargo, was taken to Quebec, and the crew were thrown into prison, which gives some idea of the exasperation that was felt by the Quebec authorities at the loss of York Factory (Fort Bourbon) and the comparative want of success of the trading expedition.

The following are the sworn statements of Edward Hume, the master, and Richard Smithsend, the mate, with reference to the loss of the vessel, and the treatment accorded to them and to the other members of the crew:

THE STRUGGLE FOR YORK FACTORY 15

Edward Humes of London Marriner aged thirty-five years or thereabouts late Master of the Pink or Vessell called the Perpetuana Merchant of the Burthen of sixty Touns or thereabouts who upon his Corporall Oath solemnly taken on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God doth say and depose that being freighted by the Rt. Hon^{ble} the Governour and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay he departed with the said Vessell from the Port of London on or about the seaven and twentyeth of May last laden wth divers goods merchandizes and provisions bound for Port Nelson in Hudson's Bay in prosecution of which voyage on the seaven and twentieth of July last being in the latitude of sixty two and an halfe off of Salisbury Island betwixt that and Diggses at the entrance into the said Bay he met with two french ships of Quebeck belonging to the french Canada Company each mounted with four Gunns and foure Petereroes both together manned with fifty odd men. One commanded by Captaine Peter Allemant and the other by Peter Moizant under the direction of Mons^r Martiniere Agent for the said Canada Company who came up with the said Vessell Perpetuana Merchant fired a Gun and commanded this Deponent Edward Humes to come on board them And he answering he could not by reason his boate was leaky they got in their sprit saile yards with designe to board the Deponent's Vessell who finding them to be french and not apprehending any seizure or ill treatment he caused his boate to be hoisted out and with two of his Company went on board the Vessell commanded by the said Peter Allemant—And the said Edward Humes further sayth That being on board the said french Vessell having produced his Passe and conceiving they would have no just p^rtence against him demanded he might returne again on board his said Vessell and prosecuted his voyage w^{ch} they not onely refused but sent severall frenchmen on board the said Deponent's Vessell and tooke possession thereof outed most of the ship's company and put them on board the said french Vessells where they were kept prisoners. And the said Deponent demanding the reason of such seizure and detention they replied that they had order from the french Canada Company to take all Vessells that should trade in the said Bay of Hudson. That two dayes after the seizure of the said Vessell they met with another ship in the service of the said Hudsons Bay Company commanded by Capt. Richard Lucas whom the said french comandars commanded to come on board which he refusing and keeping on his course they fired severall Gunnes at him and so left him. And the said Deponent further saith that the said French having thus seized upon and taken the said vessell Perpetuana Merchant and her Lading they carried the same

to the aforesaid place of Quebeck where the said Edward Humes this Deponent demanded Restitution of the said ship and Lading with satisfaction for the losses and damages sustained by the said detention. Yet notwithstanding all endeavours could get neither Restitution nor satisfaction. And the Deponent further saith that he with five more of his men were sent in the Canada Company's ships to Rochell in France but they detained his mate and two more of his men, viz^t Richard Smithson, Nicholas Smithson and John Morris as prisoners at Quebeck. And this Deponent having desired the Governour of Canada to discharge and release his said three men that they might returne home with him, He replied that he would give his most Christian Majesty an Account thereof. And the Deponent being arrived at Rochell gott passage in an English Vessell for Dartmouth and from thence came to London.¹

Decimo February 168⁵/₆ EDWARD HUME

Jurat fuit dius Edwardus Hume
coram me

RICH. LLOYD

p^resente me THO: BEDFORD No^{ris} Pub^{co} dictae Curiae
Registrary Deputato

1686 Richard Smithsend Marriner aged Thirty foure years or there-
February 15th abouts maketh oath that he was Master's mate of the Ship
Perpetuana Merchant Edward Humes Mast^r who in ye year
1685 was sent by the Hudsons Bay Comp^a for Port Nelson &
she ariveing in Hudsons Straites in July 1685 was there taken
by 2 French vessels who alledged they had a comision for doeing
Thereof from the Governor of Canada & they carried the said
shipp & her men to Quebeck & there condemned & made Prize
of her & her goods the goods were Praised at one Thousand
pounds Sterling as one of the Praisers told him And this de-
ponent & his Brother Nicholas Smithsend & John Morris were
kept Prisoners in Quebeck for above Eleaven Monthes mostly
with Bread & water, & one of the Canada Comp^a offered this depo-
nent Seaventen Pistolls p month if he would goe in their Service.

That the 19, 20, 21st February 1685 (1686) about 250 French
went from Quebeck with Carriages to take the English Factoryes
in the Bottome of the Bay & the deponent was Informed y^t there
was the Like number of Indians on the way to Joyne & assist
them. That the 23 July 1686 newes came to Quebeck that the
French yt soe went had taken 2 ffactoryes at the Bottome of the
Bay from the English & that Govern^r Bridgar was taken &
clapt in Irons hands & ffete, & he and severall others were

¹Canadian Archives, *B.T.H.B.*, vol. 1, p. 225.

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Bringing Prisoners to Quebeck, the next day an order was Published by the Govern^r forbidding all persons to talke or dis-course the takeing the said Factoryes under the Penalty of 200 Livers.

That the 25 Augst, 1686 this deponent & his said Companions were sent on Board the Shipp St. Peter to be carried to Martin Nico there to be kept Prisoners & by mistake of the Master the said Shipp mist the said Island & soe came to Guardo Lupo where the Govern^r discharged them & soe his companions went for Mevis & this deponent for Barbadoes & from thence he came for England where he arived Last Saturday night. That the Master of the said Shipp St. Peter put this deponent & his companions downe in the hold for one day & the deponent asking the Mast^r the Reason thereof he tould him it was because they should not see the 2 English Shippes that the French had taken in the Bottome of the Bay. And then were just come into Canada River with the English Beavor They had taken One of which shippes this Deponent beleives was Capt. Outlaws shipp called the Successe Blonging to ye English Comp^a

That the deponent enquiering of the Mast^r of the Said Shipp St. Peter what this deponent & his Companions must be done with., when they came to Martin Nico y^e said Mast^r Replyed that this deponent & his companions must Remaine there untill it were known whither what the ffrench had done to ye English would produce a Warr or not: & this deponent further sayes the French in Canada make preparations expecting a Warr will happen upon those their actions against the English.¹

RICHARD SMITHSEND

Jur. 15^o die Feb^y 1686

corame Mgrd

MCHL. COOKE

In the year 1686, the Chevalier de Troyes, with Le Moyne d'Iberville and two of his brothers as lieutenants, thirty regular soldiers, and seventy Canadians, conducted an expedition overland from Montreal up the Ottawa river and down the Moose river to Hudson Bay. They seized Moose Factory, Rupert House, and Albany, and took the English inhabitants prisoners. It is a mistake to think of the fur-traders at their trading-posts as military garrisons, though they may have been provided with some small cannon to overawe any hostile Indians.

¹Canadian Archives, *B.T.H.B.*, vol. 1, p. 33.

York Factory, and perhaps Severn, were now the only settlements on the bay held by the Hudson's Bay Company.

After the three trading-posts had been captured, Troyes started back overland for Montreal. He told his men to get back to Montreal as quickly as they could, and most of them got back just before the winter set in. He left Iberville in charge of the captured forts. In the autumn of 1687, Iberville sailed for Quebec with a load of furs, leaving his brother, Maricourt, in charge of the bay. In 1688 or '89, Iberville returned to Hudson Bay to continue the struggle for the possession or retention of the trading-posts from which such rich furs could be easily and cheaply obtained.

In February, 1689, James II was driven from the throne of England, and William of Orange was crowned King in his stead. Up to that time, Louis XIV of France had permitted his subjects to plunder British settlements wherever and whenever they were able to overpower them, being assured that James of England would not actively resent such hostile actions. But with William's accession to the English throne, a new era in the relationships of the two countries began. William almost immediately declared war on France, so that from that time onward till the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, the two peoples were actively at war, and there was no pretence of friendship. Throughout this war, Count Frontenac was governor of Canada at Quebec, and Lord Churchill (later the Duke of Marlborough), Sir Stephen Evans, and Sir William Turnbull were governors of the Hudson's Bay Company in succession.

In 1689, the English government sent the *Hampshire*, accompanied by the *North West Fox*, to the bay to

capture Fort Albany from the French; but Iberville, who was there at the time, seized both ships, burnt the *North West Fox*, and sailed to Quebec in the *Hampshire* with a load of furs.

In the following year, Iberville returned to the bay in the *Ste. Anne*, *St. François*, and *Armes de la Compagnie*, made an unsuccessful expedition against York Factory, where Captain Geyer was in charge, took and destroyed New Severn Port, occupied by the English at the mouth of the Severn river, and then sailed on to Albany, where he wintered. The following year he returned to France with a load of furs.

In 1693, the Hudson's Bay Company, with three well-manned ships under Captain Grimington, drove the French from the trading-posts at the southern end of the bay, and from that date to the present they have remained continuously under British control. Shortly before the arrival of the English ships at Fort Albany, Father Dalmas had been killed by the blacksmith (named Guillory), as told by Father Marest, and the murderer was one of those taken prisoner in the fort.

During this time, life had gone on in a business-like way among the employees and servants of the Hudson's Bay Company at York Factory. As we have seen, Thomas Phipps was left in charge of the fort in 1684, when Radisson sailed for London after having taken possession of it for the Hudson's Bay Company. With him as an apprentice was Henry Kelsey, a London boy fourteen years old, some of whose later journals are quoted on subsequent pages. In 1689, Captain George Geyer, then governor at York, sent this Henry Kelsey north by boat to the Churchill river, whence he travelled inland for about two hundred miles on foot with an

Indian lad as companion. On their return to Churchill they found that the house which was being built on Churchill river as a trading-post had been burnt, and they re-embarked for York Factory.

In the following year, Geyer again sent Kelsey inland, but this time to the Great Plains, the country of the Assiniboine and Mandan Indians. Two years were spent by him in the interior country, and he has left a most interesting and instructive account of his trip, as he was undoubtedly the first white man to visit the prairies of Manitoba.¹

In the spring of 1694, the French, who had lost Albany in the previous year, decided to devote their energies to the capture of York Factory. Accordingly the *Compagnie du Nord* of Canada organized an expedition to sail to Hudson Bay, and if possible to obtain possession of York. Two ships, the *Poli* and *Salamandre*, French men-of-war, were outfitted, and the expedition was put in charge of Iberville, who was on the *Poli*, while his brother, Serigny, was on the *Salamandre*. Jérémie was one of the officers, and Father Gabriel Marest was chaplain.

They sailed from Quebec on August 10, and after a successful voyage reached the mouth of Nelson river on September 24, just north of the point of land on which York Factory is situated. Here Thomas Walsh was governor in charge for the Hudson's Bay Company, with Henry Kelsey as a subordinate.

They first looked out for favourable places in which to winter their two ships, and they finally placed the *Poli* on the north side of Nelson river, and the *Salamandre* on the north side of Hayes river about a mile

¹*The Kelsey Papers*, with an introduction by Arthur G. Doughty and Chester Martin (Ottawa, Public Archives, 1929).

or a little more above the present site of York Factory, for the fort was then half a mile below where it is now. After the ships were put into winter quarters, arrangements for the siege of the fort were proceeded with, though during the intervening time irregular skirmishing had been more or less continuous. On October 13, after all arrangements were completed, two men were sent to the fort with a flag of truce to demand immediate surrender. The governor, seeing that there was no chance for him to defend it successfully, consented, and, on the following day, handed it over to the French. Fortunately for the Hudson's Bay Company, the furs traded the previous winter had already been sent to England.

Father Marest, in the letter here published, gives a detailed account of the expedition from the time it left Quebec until the fort was captured, and also of a few of the incidents which happened during the following winter, which was spent in or near the fort and on board the *Poli* on the north side of Nelson river.

Nothing, however, is said of the number of casualties that occurred on either side except that Châteauguay, a brother of Iberville, was killed, and nothing is said of what became of the English garrison, though it seems probable that they were rather hardly treated. After spending the winter at York Factory, Iberville sailed with his two ships for France. Jérémie gives the date of sailing as July 20, but Marest states that on July 30 they went to the mouth of the Hayes river to wait for the English ships which never came, and in the beginning of September they sailed for France. Iberville left La Forest in charge of York Fort with sixty-seven men. Jérémie's account of the surrender of the fort will be

found in the *Relation du Détroit et de la Baie de Hudson*, by Jérémie, published in *Recueil d'arrests, &c.* (Amsterdam, 1720, pp. 1-39 and map), and in the excellent English translation of it made by Messrs. R. Douglas and J. N. Wallace and published under the title *Twenty Years of York Factory, 1694-1714* (Ottawa, 1926).

Henry Kelsey's account of the siege and surrender of the fort has just been published by the Public Archives of Canada, and as it is the only English account yet known, it will be interesting to reproduce it here. In order to make it more intelligible, punctuation and capital letters have been introduced.¹

1694.

(September)	This morning ² we set forth for ye house, it blowing very hard
Ye 14th	northerly, likewise snowing hard. About noon gott to ye fort. In
friday	ye Evening clearing up & indians being in ye marsh a hunting brought us news of two ships ³ being arrived at Portnelson. Our people yt were in ye marsh returning with ye same news & one hand getting up ye flag stafe could discry ym from ye house. This night watcht halfwatch.
Septr	This morning ye Governr. ⁴ sent two Indians over ye river with a note for those two men wch was there. Likewise another party
ye 15th	of indians into ye marsh to make wt discovery they could of ye french. In ye afternoon they brought us news there was 11 wch they saw, but they told ym yt there was forty of ym landed. So we broke open small arms & gott our selves provided for ym.
Saturday	
ye 16th	To day about noon ye french came to ye woods Edge & fired some guns at us & so went away. We have a discription yt they have brought mohocks. ⁵ We fired some guns into ye woods.
Sunday	
ye 17th	This morning ten a Clock one of ye ships weighed from Portnelson & stood for our River. ⁶ In ye Evening came to anchor fair in sight. Last night we fired several guns to scail ye woods.
Munday	

¹*Loc. cit.*, pp. 40-44.

²September 24, according to the Gregorian calendar used by the French.

³These were Iberville's two ships, the *Poli* and *Salamandre*.

⁴Captain Thomas Walsh.

⁵Evidently referring to the Canadian *voyageurs*, or Indians of whatever tribe, accompanying the French.

⁶The *Poti* was left in Nelson river, while the *Salamandre* was brought around to Hayes river.

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ye 18th Tuesday	Last night ye wind blowing northerly it snowed very hard. About 11 a Clock we saw several men in ye woods Edge firing at our people & they at ym, & one great gun. Likewise their boat came from portnelson wth about 30 men, great part of ym landed below ye fort & ye rest went aboard ye ship, after wch they went a sounding ye river. This Evening ye ship came into ye river & came to anchor 3 miles below ye house & landed some bundles on this side but could not discern wt they were. Their people coming often to lalum us.
ye 19th Wednesday	This morning there Indians came within 2 miles of ye fort there pitcht their tent. At noon a Cannoe arrived here Informing us yt ye french had mortar pieces on board & yt they had seen ym & yt ye french Governer told ym yt ye great (ship) should winter on ye north side of portnelson. They continue to alarum us. This Evening their ship weighed but soon after came aground lying there yt tide, by reason their Boat was up ye river.
ye 20th Thursday	This morning their long boat went ashore. Some Indians coming from ye other side ye river told us she was loaden with Boom shels & was going to fetch ye mortar. Likewise some men went along ye woods to guard ym & in ye Evening ye boat went ashore again loaden, at wch we fired several great guns. They keeping a Party always to alarum us.
ye 21st Friday	About noon their cannoes went a Boying & sounding ye south Chancel. At six this Evening, almost high water, ye ship weighed & went up ye south chanel at wch we fired 4 Great guns. She got above ye fort distance one mile & half & came aground. Much snow last night & Ice drove in ye river.
Sepr. ye 22nd Saturday	To day ye ship continued aground. Ye Ice growing thicker they lightened their ship wth ye long boat. They Keeping hands alwayes to alarum us.
ye 23d Sunday	This morning they gott of their ship & stood for ye north shoar, but being hindered by ye Ice came aground again, but seeing our people fetching of wood came & shott at ym but did no hurt. ¹
ye 24th Monday	Last night gott their ship of & warpt ashore about a mile & half above ye fort. To day at low water we see ym hand deal Boards & other goods ashore. Their people still alarum us.
ye 25th Tuesday	To day we could discry nothing but their securing their ship.
ye 26t Wednesd	To day at noon our Yacht drove away to ye other side of ye river. Much Ice being in ye other chanel drove to sea out of sight.
ye 27th thursday	Last night our people said they saw some french men, so fired some guns this morning. Saw one more plain fired one gun at him.
ye 28th friday	This day we saw ye french gett their goods ashore. This morning they came so near us yt we saw ym fall trees, & at noon came to

¹Châteauguay, a younger brother of Iberville, was killed in the fighting on this day.

ye 29th Saturday	ye woods edge & fired at our people. All ye afternoon we firing now & then again when we could see ym.
ye 30th Sunday	Last night our people saw a man & fired at him. This afternoon happened an Imbroile in ye fort, Joseph Staysmore being ye cause thereof. Ye french came to ye woods Edge, our people shott at ym.
October ye 1st Munday	About ten oClock this morning came an Indian who told us yt he came from above ye french but meeting with one of ym in ye woods carried him to ye ship, he said yt morning they gott ashore their Boom, & was Intended to play it shortly, & this Evening fired their Boom but it fell three or four hundred yards short. We seeing ym in ye woods edge fired 2 muskets at ym. So gave ye Indian some Oatmel & sent him away.
ye 2d Tuesday	Last night they made great fires near us about five hundred yards. To day came to ye woods Edge & fired 3 guns at us & this Evening they put up flag staves at ye mast head of ye ship & kept their fire day & night.
Octr. ye 3d Wednesday	To day about noon came one french man & a mohawk Indian wth a flag of truce, wth a summons to our governour wch spacefied yt they was ready to Cannonade & Boombard ye fort & if we would not surrender it they would reduce it to ashes & give us no quarter, so desired our answer by Eight a Clock ye next morning. So ye Govern ^r desired longer time to Consider of it but they would not. So he sent ym word he would.
ye 4th Thursday	This morning Mr. Matthew & I went wth a flag of truce & carryed our articles, wch their cheif perrused. Then those wch he did not like he altered. So demanded ye governour to surrender it up at 4 a Clock in ye afternoon forasmuch a he would not alter his Resolution but would begin to play when ye time was Expired. Likewise he allotted us ye house called foxhall to put all our things in. So we returned at ten & gott our things in order & at 12 he sent two men to hear our answer. So ye Govern ^r told ym since he could have no longer time would make ready for his Entrance. So accordingly they came & took possession of ye fort. Our Govern.r. & 14 more of us was ordered to go up to Mr. Diberveall house in order to pass ye night.

The terms of capitulation of the fort were as follows:

1. That the Governor and his officers shall lodge in the Fort and the garrison shall be entertained like as the French.
2. And as to the garrison's provisions thay shall have it as the French.
3. The Governour and all the garrison shall be masters of all that particularly belongs to them.
4. As to their treatment they may be assured that no injury shall be offered to any of their garrison.

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5. That the next summer at the return of the ships in France they shall be carried thither from thence to be sent back into England, unless they think better to have a vessel to pass directly for England.

6. As to the Papers and Books of Account they shall be masters of them, granting the reading in case it be desired.

That to day at four of the clock in the afternoon, Mr. Walsh shall deliver me up his fort.

Done in the French Camp the 14th October 1694.

LE MOYNE D'IBERVILLE

True translation in substance which I attest

NIC HAYWARD Notarius Publicus.¹

It is reported that there was much dissatisfaction among the men about the way they were treated during the following winter, but the information at hand is not sufficiently full to enable one to form a very definite opinion. If kindness was looked for, it is probable that it was not extended to the prisoners.

In 1696, the British government sent two warships, the *Bonaventure* and *Seaforth* under Captain William Allen, along with three frigates of the Hudson's Bay Company, the *Hudson's Bay*, *Dering*, and *Knight* to recapture York Factory, and at the same time to take supplies to Fort Albany. On August 31 (O.S.), York was surrendered by the French to Captain Allen, without bloodshed, and on September 20 (O.S.), Captain Allen sailed again for England taking the French garrison with him, including La Forest, the governor, Jérémie, ensign and Indian interpreter, and Father Marest, who had remained since the French captured the fort in 1694 in order to minister to the French and Indians. No English account of the taking of the fort has been published, but Henry Kelsey gives a brief account of the voyage of the five English ships from Gravesend to about the eastern en-

¹*The Conquest of the Great North West*, by Agnes C. Laut, vol. 1, p. 235 (Toronto). Also in French in Can. Arch. B.T.H.B., vol. 2, p. 25.

trance of Hudson straits (June 2 to July 19, O.S.), and again of life at York Factory from September 18 onward throughout the winter.¹

As soon as the French received word of the loss of York Factory, they immediately began preparations for retaking it, and delegated Iberville, who was then fighting the English in Newfoundland, to take command of the enterprise. The letters of La Potherie, here for the first time republished and translated into English, give an account by an eyewitness of this expedition, which, after plundering and destroying the settlements of the English fishermen in Newfoundland, left Placentia on July 8 and sailed for Hudson Bay. The *Pelican*, Iberville's ship, became separated from the other French ships, and arrived at the mouth of Nelson river on September 3. On September 5, the *Hampshire*, a British warship, and the *Dering* and *Hudson's Bay*, two armed ships belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, also arrived at the mouth of the river. The three of them were immediately attacked and defeated by the *Pelican*, the *Hampshire* being sunk with all on board, and the *Hudson's Bay* being taken captive. On the 8th, the *Pelican* and her prize, the *Hudson's Bay*, were driven ashore and wrecked. Most of the crews and marines reached land safely, but a number of those from the *Pelican* were drowned. On September 9, the other three French ships arrived, and the fort was attacked so energetically that it was obliged to surrender on September 13.

The *Hampshire* was a ship of His Majesty's Navy. She was built at Deptford in 1653, and on this expedition was under the command of Captain John Fletcher. The contemporary list of the navy says that she was

¹*Loc. cit.*, pp. 33-39 and 45-100.

"Taken and destroyed by the French at Hudson's Bay" on August 26, 1697, which would be September 5 in the Gregorian calendar used by the French. There is, therefore, no reason to doubt the accuracy of the accounts of the naval engagements described in detail by La Potherie.

Another account of the capture of York Factory is by Jérémie, who was on board one of the ships of the French fleet, but probably not on the *Pelican*, so that he would not see the naval battle with the British ships. It is given in Jérémie's *Relation*, pp. 20-22, and in the English translation, pp. 28-30.

A third account is by Henry Kelsey, who was in York Factory at the time it was taken. This account only came to light in 1926, and was published for the first time by the Public Archives of Canada in 1929. Kelsey evidently did not see the naval battle between the *Pelican* and *Hampshire*, though he heard "several great guns" on the day it was fought, and he does not mention it except in a memorandum of his "abode in Hudson Bay", in which he says: "In 97 [I] was taken again when the *Hampshire* was lost."

The following is his daily journal at York Factory, from the time of the arrival of the first French ship (the *Pelican*) on September 4 until the fort was surrendered on September 13.

Wednesday (August) ye 25th.¹ wind Wterly Blowing rainy weather. Last night clear. To day more hands went to lye out in our marsh in 2 tents a goose hunting & some hands went up ye river to make charcoal but seeing a ship² at 10 in ye mornng, all ye hands return'd home. Ye govr. sent me & eight hands to ye marsh to lye till we knew wt ye ship was or untill further orders.

Thursday ye 26th Clear Weather. wind ditto. This mornng. 4 a

¹This was September 4 in the Gregorian calendar.

²Iberville's ship, *Pelican*.

Clock our 2 pinnaces man'd went to see to make ye ship. He hoisting a red Ensign at his maintopmast head but showed no other colours our boats returned. We seeing 3 ships¹ more in the offin I sent one hand to ye fort to give ye govr. notice so came away with ye shallop along with ye pinnaces. Meeting ye hand I had sent who brought orders for him & 2 more to return to ye marsh & I with ye others to go home. Had not been long there but saw a boat come from ye french creek² so man'd ye 2 pinnaces went after her. I likewise running down along shore. She put back again. Our boats could not come up with them it being almost high water & a fresh gale. Left their chase & return'd. I also meeting those 3 men yt was in ye marsh who said they saw men landed in ye marsh so we return'd with ym all except one hand wch parted from ym into ye woods when ye french boats was near this side, who came home after us. And ye ship wch rid of ye river wheiged & run of to sea after wch we heard several great guns.³ At four afternoon Mr. bishop with 10 men more went to ye point of ye marsh to ye shore.

friday ye 27th fresh gales Northerly, Cloud. This mornng. 2 clock saw a cannoe at wch fired some muskets. Our people say'd they saw a fire at ye back of ye fort to day. At 10 ye ships weighed from ye mouth of portnelson & stood for this river being only two. At one a clock one came to anchor of our rivers mouth & fired 2 guns, his boat came of from ye fourteens & went aboard. We fired one gun by consent for our men to come home wch they did. About five afternoon ye other ship came to anchor of ye point of ye marsh. To day broke up 2 chest of guns & loaded ym & those remaining in ye trading room in all about a hundred. Last night watcht 5 & 6 men in a watch 2 hours.

Saturday ye 28th fresh gales NoEt. Last night watcht 10 in a watch 3 hours each. About one this mornng. our men said they saw men near ye palasadoes at wch they fired some small arms. About noon it blowed very hard Do. with rain hail & snow in so much yt ye *Albermarle* drove & our *Deerings* pinnace sunk at her moorings. Ores & all things went a drift could not launch a boat to fetch ym.

Sunday ye 29th fresh gale Notherly. This mornng. half foot snow on ye ground. Saw one of ye ships¹ drove a shore in ye marsh ye other not

¹The English ships, *Hampshire*, *Dering*, and *Hudson's Bay*.

²This was doubtless the boat that Iberville had sent ashore from the *Pelican* to reconnoitre.

³The battle in which the *Hampshire* was lost.

⁴During the previous night Iberville's victorious ship, *Pelican*, and the English ship, *Hudson's Bay*, which had been captured by her, were both wrecked, the latter doubtless in or off the mouth of the Hayes river, for Smithsend, her captain, and his crew got ashore on the east bank of that stream. The *Pelican* was probably carried up with the flood tide on to the shallows at the mouth of Nelson river and there wrecked. The crew of the *Pelican* landed somewhere on the point between the Nelson and Hayes rivers, but whether on the side of the Nelson or the Hayes river is uncertain. Judging by the picture opposite page 212, repre-

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in sight. Our people went down along shore to see for our pinnaces ores. Found 6 of ye frenches ores & some rack. Att 11 forenoon man'd ye Seafords pinnace, Mr. Bishop & 9 more in her went to look on ye ship, but 2 boats coming round ye point before he gott down they sent to ye ship & fetcht more men so he lay a considerable time, afterwards returnd said they were loaden wth goods. His spritsail has been loose all day. One hand came to ye woods Edge & fir'd 3 times at which we fired small arms.

Munday ye 30th moderate gales between ye No & ye Wt. Frost this mornng. 5 a clock their boat went from ye place where they landed there goods round to ye ships. About 9 forenoon saw 3 ships¹ more in sight. At half Eb a boat came from ye ships in ye offing to sheaground. One cannoe came down ye river.

Tuesday ye 31st fair weather., wind ditto. This mornng. they landed many men & came nearer ye fort at wch we fired several great guns & ye great mortar once. About 9 forenoon a cannoe came from tother side wth capt. smithson who gave an accot. of 16 or 18 men of his on tother side, so went wth a pinnace & 2 cannoes Mr. Newton in one & I in ye other. In coming back Mr. Newton was shott in ye belly from ye woods Edge & kept firing at their small arms at ye fort & we at them; now & then a great gun. Rewarded ye Indians for Bringing capt. smithson, traded ye others Beavr. & sent ym away. Watcht half watch this Eveng. Ye 2 ships came in to lower five fathom hole.

Wednesday ye 1st Sept. fair weather. wind Wterly. Several small arms fired on both sides. To day came 2 french men wth a flag of truce to demand ye 3 prisoners wch we would not grant. Mr. Newton dyed at 4 mornng.

Thursday ye 2d fine weathr. small Breezes So Wt. They begun to play their mortar hove 4 shells then came wth a flag of truce to demand ye fort. Being denyed went their way & fired again till they had hove 15 & we fourteen. Then came again telling us we should have no quarters. We told ym if they would not allow us time to consider we would have none. So ye Govr. drew up a paper & brought on ye platform to satisfie ye men; they should have every one a years pay gratis if they would sign ye same & we kept ye fort. Some did signe others not & said would not

senting the landing of the ship-wrecked crew, the landing was made where trees and a little cliff reach the shore. The place marked on the map of the mouth of the Nelson river as their probable landing is as near to the point of marsh, or as far north as these conditions occur. If a cliff and trees on the shore were looked for on the west bank of Hayes river, it would be necessary to go up to within a short distance of the place where York Factory was situated at that time. Whether the ship here referred to by Kelsey was the *Pelican* or the *Hudson's Bay*, I do not know.

¹The *Profond*, *Palmier*, and *Vespe* (*Weesph*), three ships of the French squadron, which had gone north as far as Churchill and did not reach the mouth of Nelson river until the sea battle was over.

sell their lives for a little money. So sent our articles & in ye Eveng. I Mr. Bishop Mr. Clark went to their camp to hear their final ansr. So deberveal writt his resolution demanded ye fort by one a clock ye next day & our answer by 8 in ye mornng.

friday ye 3d fair weathr. wind ditto. Finding such great force as nine hundred men, & ye ill tidings of our own ships concluded could not keep it & so agreed to ye articles aforesign'd by monseir & ye Govr. & marcht out by one a clock & ye french took possession of ye fort. This being ye end of a Tedious winter & tragical Journal by me Henry Kelsey.¹

On September 20, 1697, only a few days after Iberville had taken possession of York Factory for the French, the Peace of Ryswick was signed between the English and the French sovereigns, providing that each nation should occupy the territory possessed at the time of the signing of the treaty. This left the French in possession of York, and the English in possession of Albany.

From that time onwards for sixteen years, the French occupied York Factory, and they did not relinquish it until the whole of the country in the vicinity of Hudson Bay was handed over to the English in accordance with the terms of the treaty of Utrecht, signed between the two powers in March, 1713, which terminated the War of the Spanish Succession. In 1700, they built Fort Phéliepeaux on the south-east side of Hayes river above Ten Shilling creek, in the vicinity of the place where La Martinière had had a house sixteen years before. In 1712, this fort was sacked by the Indians after they had killed seven of the French garrison, who were off on a hunting trip. An account of conditions at York Factory and vicinity at this time is given by Jérémie in his *Relation*.²

In 1713, after the Treaty of Utrecht had been signed,

¹*Loc. cit.*, pp. 97-100.

²*Relation du Detroit, etc.* (Amsterdam, 1720), pp. 1-39. Translated into English by R. Douglas and J. N. Wallace under the title *Twenty Years of York Factory*, with introduction (Ottawa, 1926).

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the French Company sent a ship to York with notice that the fort must be handed over to the English; and in 1714, Captain James Knight, governor, with Henry Kelsey as deputy, were sent out by the Hudson's Bay Company in the *Union* to take over York Factory. They arrived on September 7, Governor Knight at once took charge, and the *Union* set sail for Great Britain on September 20, carrying the French garrison on it. Knight writes of the place as follows: "I found a most miserable place. All the factory run to ruin, the covering of the house all rotten so that there is no place fit for man to go into, but what is ready to fall on our heads, and so leaky that I found the best place to lye our goods was out of doors."

The men spent the winter as usual hunting in the woods for food and cutting timber on Fourteen river for a new house.

On May 5 (O.S.), 1715, the ice in the river broke up, then jammed at the mouth, and flooded the fort up to the second storey, making it necessary for all to leave it and take refuge in the woods, the ice being piled up "nere 20 foot higher than the top of our highest building which is the warehouse." The flood lasted till May 12, when it subsided.

During the summer, Henry Kelsey was sent up to the French house at Fort Phéliepeaux to see if it was fit to live in, but he reported that it was out of repair and not worth mending. But afterwards fifteen men were sent to pull it down in order to use the timber and boards in the new house which the governor was building at the fort. They also hauled the French guns out to the bank of the river.

The summer was largely spent building the new

house, which was thirty-six feet square and two storeys high. No ship arrived that summer, for though Captain Davis had been sent from England with a ship, and actually got to the west side of the bay near the river, he was not able to get into it.

William Stewart was sent into the country north-west of Churchill to endeavour to bring the Northern or Chippewyan Indians to trade.

On October 16, Knight moved into his new house, the old one having "been very unwholesome ever since the deluge" (Knight, p. 23).

During the winter of 1715-16 and throughout the following spring and summer, Knight and Kelsey remained at York Factory trading with the Indians who came there, though they had little to trade with on account of the non-arrival of the ship from England the previous year. It had also been their intention to build a trading-post at Churchill this year in order to establish closer trading relations with the Northern (Chippewyan) Indians who would not come to York Factory, but this also was now impossible. Captain Knight was all the more anxious to establish trade with these Northern Indians as they had told him much about the occurrence of native copper in their country, and had brought many pieces of the metal to him, and he seems to have had the impression that gold was also abundant in that northern country.

On September 4 (O.S.), 1716, the *Hudson's Bay*, a new ship, with Captain Ward as commander, arrived in the river, and Knight says that "there was never nothing more welcome to me than the arrival of the ship for I was almost in disspair—but her arriving has put a new life into our affairs here." On the 6th, he proclaimed

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George I King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, firing "nine great guns," and drinking his health. In the following year, he was able to realize his long-deferred hope of building a trading-post at the mouth of Churchill river, and the following extracts from his journal describe the founding of this northern town. On July 10, 1717, he sailed from York for Churchill, and arrived there on the 14th, having left Henry Kelsey in charge at York:

Wee came to an anchor about 2 miles within the river's mouth where the doctor and the men that were with him came on board with the boat.¹ I askd him if he had found a place convenient for building and where was the best place to go too. He told me that they had search'd both sides of the river with the boat but could not find a spott of ground to sett a house upon without I went up to the place where the Danes had wintered a 100 years since wch was the only and best place to be found and that is so little a one as it is not above the compass of ground as York fort stands upon and it is upon a point under the cliffs of the rocks and no fresh water nigher than a quarter of a mile nor no timber to be gott to build with but what must be backt at least $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile and that but verry sorry and indifferent stuff and where it is brought out the men must go half way of there leggs to fetch it out and the tide ebbs a mile and half from shoar That there is no comeing near the shoar anywhere with a boat twill past half flood nor going of again with a boat if wee stay twill $\frac{1}{2}$ ebb. Wee weighd and went abt 5 mile up the river from the place where wee furst came too and are up opposite to where the Danes wintrd but did not go a shoar, the flatts lye so farr and the rocks as wee could not gett in.

Here is Knight's own description of the place he chose as the site on which he would build the trading-post of Churchill, a site which has been occupied more or less continuously ever since:

Tuesday 16 July (1717) In the morning wee did gett up our anchor and went in. When wee was gott in I went a shore, but I never see such miserable place in all my life and there was but one little place where the Danes had wintered wch is upon a point as hardly contains so much compass of ground as the Royall Exchange stands upon and when I saw it I was not at all surprised to think of so many of the Danes as lost their

¹ These men had been sent ahead from York to choose a place for necessary houses, and to collect timber.

lives in comeing so late to this place and here is no other place to build at this river but the outer point where the Iskemays tents is wch is impossible for any European to live at. Wee pitchd our tents and I gott my bedding ashore but was wellcom'd by such a quantity of musketos that as soon they light or wherever they fix their sting like great wasps that wee are nothing in the world but knotts and bumps our flesh is. I find here is no fresh water to be gott nigher than a quarter of a mile wch is in the clifts of the rocks like a great cistern. Our people as I sent here in the boat have been 2 or 3 times up the river as farr as they could go for rocks and stones but could not find a fitting place to build a house upon but at one place wch was worse than this is where formerly the English had built one wch they found so badd that after they had built it I believe they was so disscouraged that they sett it a fire to run away by the light of it. Here is the sign of the Danes building here formerly by the stumps of trees they left cut down but all as rotten as dirt. We found a peice of a brass gun hear near 7 foot long. It was a 12 pounder for I have one of the shott as wee took out of her by me. There was 2 of them but the Indians have broke one all to peices and carryd it clear away and this is a great peice of the mussell is broke of and wee have found several peices of cast barr iron 3 or 4 foot long 4 inches thick as the Danes used for a stove as the Indians hath found by digging abt.

Saty 20 July. I burnt and cleard a place where I design the ffactory for to stand wch I believe to be the very place where Capt. Monk built upon when he wintered here by the brass gun and the square peices of cast iron as wee have found there and by the Northern Indians digging up the moss and stones abt the rocks for above $\frac{1}{2}$ mile round. The place is the best in this river both for landing of goods and the house standing but here is no good place at all.

Sunday 28 July. One of our men covered in the mudd a great gun lying a good way of on the flatts but cannot tell yett whether it is brass or iron and sevl barrs of cast iron wch I will seek after shortly. The gun is 12 pounder without doubt it was a very great ship as was lost here by its having such great guns.

Monday 29 July. It proves to be a brass gun.

Tuesday 30 July. Wee are forced to back all the timber at a great distance and hardly can find one peice to bring out to carry upon the mens backs but what is as farr as it is from the Hudsons Bay Company's house as it is to Ludgate.

Wed 14 Aug. 1717. [The ship] came to an anchor in ye channell opposite to where wee are a building. Capt. Ward and Mr. Stanton came a shoar before the ship came to an anchor which I found to be the *Hudsons Bay* ffriggot. They brought the Companys packett a shoar by which I found they were all well and told me as the *Port Nellson* was gon to York Fort and ye *Albany* with a small vessell to ye bottom of the bay.¹

¹Canadian Archives, *H. B. Co. Journal at York Fort, 1716-17.*

NARRATIVE I

JOURNAL OF FATHER SILVY FROM
BELLE ISLE TO PORT NELSON

NARRATIVE I
JOURNAL OF FATHER SILVY FROM
BELLE ISLE TO PORT NELSON

1684

ON July 12 [1684], when the barque from Quebec which we were awaiting had joined us at Isle aux Coudres, we weighed anchor in the evening, and, driven by a steady wind, we entered the strait of Newfoundland¹ on the 21st. There we saw a number of splendid icebergs, some of which seemed from afar like great sailing-ships, and others like pyramids, castles, or fortifications. These, passing on our right and on our left, chilled us to the point of shivering. On coming out, the night after having doubled Belle Isle, we were driven to take to the open sea in order to keep our distance from the islands which fringe the coast of Labrador, and to avoid the difficulties and the dangers which are encountered between them and the mainland, whither the currents carry the ice; and by north-east one quarter north, north-east, north-north-east, and north, we reached the 53rd parallel of latitude, where we found ourselves at noon on the 22nd, that is to say, one degree farther north than Belle Isle, which is in the 52nd.²

¹Strait of Belle Isle.

²The island of Belle Isle is in north latitude 52°. It lies out in the Atlantic twenty-five miles north-east of the mouth of the strait, which is fifty miles long in a north-east and south-west direction, dividing the island of Newfoundland from the mainland of Labrador.

At noon on the 23rd, when we were in latitude $53^{\circ} 54'$, we saw icebergs of a prodigious height; one of these, although it was not one of the largest, was assuredly twice as high as our masts, for, being a quarter of a league away from it when the other barque passed between us, at a distance of an eighth of a league from each, we could see more than half of it above the grey canvas of her main topsail.

After dinner we made no more than three leagues on our course.

On the 24th, an extremely cold north-wester tossed us about so much that we could not remain on deck, but were forced to keep to our beds almost all day, in order to avoid the sea-sickness with which we were threatened. As we were sailing too close to the wind to hold to the north, we may not have made three leagues the whole day.

On the 25th, we advanced very little on our course, merely, by sailing west-north-west, regaining the land, from which the off-shore wind of the preceding day, combined with the strong currents, had driven us too far out to sea. At noon, however, having taken the altitude, we found ourselves in latitude $54^{\circ} 53'$, and in the evening, as there was a dense fog, we again steered a northern course, for fear of running aground during the night.

At day-break on the 26th, we almost ran against a large iceberg, which was hidden by a heavy fog, and we cleared it only with difficulty. At noon, the fog having lifted, we found ourselves in latitude $55^{\circ} 50'$.

On the 27th, we were delayed by a calm in the midst of the waves of an extremely violent sea, but we drew a little closer to land on the west-north-west.

On the 28th and 29th, we followed the same course, thanks to a following wind, and we saw some prodigiously high icebergs; there was one higher than the *Sault au Matelot*, and there were many so high that our masts were dwarfed in comparison.

On the 30th, we caught sight of the land we had been seeking for three days in order to procure the wood and water which we were beginning to need; we reached it towards midday, but at a fearful point, with mountains of sheer rock, where, on taking the altitude, we discovered that we were in latitude $56^{\circ} 3'$; so, in three days, we had advanced only four leagues on our course. As soon as we were near land, we saw coming towards us, like eels in the trough of the waves, about a dozen Eskimo canoes, with only one man in each, since, having only a small opening in the centre, they can carry no more. As they came, they called continually and brandished in the air some piece of booty, as a sign that they wished to trade with us. They have nothing but sealskins, either in hooded cloaks, or otherwise, for which they ask only knives; they do not use tobacco in any form, which is very extraordinary for savages; they are of a childish nature, and laugh at every conceivable thing, but in a silly and childish way. If they offer a sealskin and are given for it a small knife, they have no sooner received it than they burst into laughter, as though they have gained a treasure; and if they give us a hooded cloak, made of two or three skins just as large, or even larger and finer, and very beautifully sewn, for which they are given only a small knife, they receive it with the same demonstration of joy and the same burst of laughter, as though they have gained much. Such is their distrust that they wish to hold in one hand before letting go

with the other. They are not at all tempted to come on board; most of the time they live only on seals and walrus, which they spear, and the teeth of which they use for spear-heads. For the rest, they are large and fat, and their bodies are quite white all over.

On the 31st, at noon, we were in latitude $56^{\circ} 43'$, in the midst of islands of sheer rock, and the wind failing, we dropped anchor.

On August 4, having got under sail, we weighed anchor at sunrise, although the weather was quite misty. A cloud appeared, still some distance away; but the usual fog encountered on that course was dense and a trifle too close to us, so that we struck our keel on a shoal in a fathom and a half of water, and touched three times without doing any injury. We were not going quickly, because the fog reduced the wind. That forced us, however, to make for the open sea, for fear of a more serious accident. Shortly afterwards, the wind freshened and cleared the fog, and we found ourselves in latitude $57^{\circ} 6'$, opposite the harbour of St. Pierre, for which we had been searching for some days so that we could procure water and wood; we entered it toward midday. It is a bay of more than a league and a half in diameter, surrounded by great mountains of sheer rock, at the foot of which a little wood is found. Between these mountains, there is quite a fine river which empties into the bay, on which one is sheltered from the winds; and in Europe this would pass for a very safe and a very excellent harbour. It was in this harbour that we found a little warmth, and flocks of mosquitoes, black as Ethiopians.

On the 6th, we resumed our course north-north-east, thanks to a light wind which did not take us very far. As it freshened, however, in the evening, we found our-

selves, on the 7th, in latitude $57^{\circ} 42'$, without having lost sight of land, all being of the same description as the preceding, and bordered by islands, much the same and very high, among which we could discern many large, deep bays; having then sailed north and north-north-west by noon on the 8th we were in latitude $58^{\circ} 40'$.

At noon on the 9th, we were only in latitude $58^{\circ} 55'$, because of the calm which had lasted throughout the night and morning.

On the 10th, we advanced much more on the same course, despite the calm and the customary fog.

On the 11th, we were within sight of the strait, quite close to the Button islands,¹ which are at the entrance. A calm held us there for some time, and the fog soon blotted out the view; but shortly after noon, a land breeze having sprung up, we proceeded north-west one quarter north, making, however, for the open sea, as the land was too close, and being borne along by the current.

On the 12th, we could only cruise about in sight of the strait, for we could not enter it, the wind being contrary. Nevertheless, by evening it had become more favourable, and we sailed on to the north-west and north-west one quarter west all night, despite the fog, and consequently beyond the 61st parallel of latitude, where the entrance to the strait is.

Towards noon on the 13th, the fog lifted and we saw the north coast about twenty leagues ahead in the strait; then a light wind, slightly adverse, kept us from advancing for the rest of the day.

On the 14th, the calm of the preceding night still held, and, as the current was very strong, we drifted, so

¹Button islands in north latitude $60^{\circ} 40'$.

that at noon we were only in latitude $61^{\circ} 55'$ or thereabouts, for the fog had suddenly descended, and we could not take the exact altitude.

On the 15th, the wind still being adverse, we could only continue to hold our own by tacking from north to south, and from south to north across the strait, without advancing perceptibly, since we lost on one tack almost all we had gained on the other; although M. l'Allemand estimated that by evening we had advanced about ten leagues on the course, which is west-north-west in the whole strait.

On the morning of the 16th, the calm held us back and, when the sky cleared, we were still in sight of the Button islands, or the entrance to the strait, so we judged that we had lost during the preceding days; we also found ourselves in latitude $61^{\circ} 10'$. After midday, however, a favourable wind sprang up, and drove us due west-north-west for the remainder of the day and all night, for a distance of approximately fifteen or sixteen leagues.

On the 17th, the same wind prevailed all morning, making us advance even more, and would have borne us still farther if the fog had not allayed it toward noon.

On the 18th, we saw land to the south in latitude $61^{\circ} 17'$, and, in order to avoid running aground on a large island which takes up nearly half the strait, we were forced to swerve from our course and go to the north, favoured by a light wind which bore us along all night, and did not drop, so that we gained a little on our course.

On the 19th at noon, when the fog cleared, we descried, at eight or ten leagues' distance, the land to the

north, which is extremely high and seems notched and intersected by mountains.

On the 20th, favoured by a following breeze which had sprung up the evening before, and despite the fog and the rain, which seemed likely to abate it, we made twenty leagues or thereabouts on our course west-north-west.

On the 21st, after a calm which lasted almost the whole morning, a slight wind carried us for a few hours a little to the north-west, so that we could avoid the island which lies close to the land on the south at thirty leagues' distance from the entrance to the bay, and which is called Cape Charles island.¹ By evening the wind had become adverse, and we could only cross to the other side by tacking as much as possible, slightly to the north one quarter north-west.

On the 22nd, we could only tack to and fro at the same place, but we advanced a little, however, on our course.

On the 23rd, we sailed at first with the same wind, but, as it turned a little stronger at noon, and as we did not go so far on the south tack, we found that we had gained five leagues to the west since the preceding day; as we had sailed for some time north-west one quarter north, after having taken the altitude, we found ourselves in latitude $63^{\circ} 28'$, so that we were on the line due east and west with the outlet of the strait, at twenty or twenty-five leagues' distance.

On the 24th, we were becalmed at noon in latitude $64^{\circ} 15'$, within sight of the islands which fringe the north coast.

¹Charles island is about thirty-five marine leagues from Digges island, at the entrance to Hudson Bay.

On the 25th, we still beat to windward; after a fall of snow, the greater part of the day was calm, with very dense fog. As we had been tacking to and fro across the strait for a fortnight, and as we still had as far to go as we had gone since entering it, fearing some extreme distress for lack of water, food, and other necessities, we offered up prayers for more favourable weather.

On the 26th, having tacked for some time against the same wind, and the last tack having been partly to the west one quarter north-west and partly to the west-south-west, we saw, after midday, the islands at the outlet of the strait, of which the first is Salisbury, and shortly afterwards we discerned the point of the mainland, to the south, which juts into the bay. Salisbury¹ is not more than seven or eight leagues away from the coast, and as we were between the two, fearing lest the wind, by heading us too much, should cast us on the coast during the night, we changed our course so as to be on the north of the island; but the fog forced us to put about towards the cape between ten and eleven o'clock in the evening.

On the morning of the 27th, we resumed the same course, which carried us within sight of another large island, surrounded by small islands, in the direction of the land on the north; and, because the wind drove us beyond it, we put about to thread our way between the two at west-south-west. At evening we tacked again, to run north-east one quarter north, but an adverse wind having risen, we were forced to pass the night almost at the cape, proceeding under very light sail.

On the 28th, having changed our course again at day-

¹Salisbury island is shown on the latest charts as seventeen leagues from the south coast.

break, we once more encountered Salisbury island, and from there we again tacked towards the other coast, on the north, for the rest of the day, trying to pass clear on the other side of Salisbury by bearing towards Nottingham, which is next to it on the west, and is right at the entrance to the bay.

On the morning of the 29th, we were still at the end of Salisbury island, and, since in beating to windward along the north shore we had gained nothing, perhaps because of the current being too strong, it was decided to run along the coast to see if we would fare better on the south shore. On arriving there in the afternoon, we found our way barred by moving ice, through which we would have been forced to make our way by poling. We had not much time to withdraw. This island of steep rock is quite large and very high, except on the south coast, which is much lower; we saw in this spot numbers of walrus, who showed us their long, white teeth with which they hang on when they clamber up on the rocks or the icebergs to lie down. We passed this island and some rocky islets from which there extends for some distance so large a shoal that it would not be well to encounter it in a fog; but, by good fortune, we passed it in clear weather, and, the wind having dropped, we were obliged to cast anchor shortly after having rounded it lest the powerful current should cast us back upon it.

At noon on the 30th, the ebb-tide bearing us out into the bay, we weighed anchor, trying to escape from such a dangerous strait, but shortly afterwards a calm forced us to anchor closer to the island, giving us an opportunity to refill some casks of water on land, as ours were nearly finished.

On the 31st, we got under way before dawn in order to take advantage of a favourable breeze which sprang up, but within a few hours we found ourselves blocked by ice, through which we tried to force our way. We were soon hemmed in on all sides as far as the eye could see, and the whole night was spent with both ships side by side. We remained in this state on September 1, the weather being calm and misty.

On the morning of the 2nd, we found ourselves out of the ice, which an unexpected west wind had dispersed during the night, and we crossed over towards the north coast between Nottingham and Salisbury; but a few hours later we entered another ice-floe, through which the wind drove us so violently, even though we were not under sail, that the front of our ram was shattered by the ice, three or four large iron bolts which held it snapped in two, and, if the stem had not been strong enough to resist the shock, we should have been in danger of foundering before we could gain the land to repair it; but, thank God, it did not make a hole in the ship. We were then forced to hang on by two grappling-irons and wait for more favourable weather.

On the 3rd, we were released from the ice in the early morning, the wind and the tide having borne it all towards Salisbury. The wind then veering to the north, forced us to turn back on our course in order to take advantage of it, and having skirted the south side of Nottingham, about three o'clock in the afternoon, we entered into the long-desired bay, within sight of Cape Digges, which is a small island jutting out into the bay two or three leagues' distance from the southern point of the strait. The currents and the wind had carried us too far south during the night, so that, by sailing west-

north-west, we could not avoid the shore of Mansfield island.¹ We therefore stood by the cape until day-break for fear of running aground.

On the 4th at day-break we proceeded south-south-west in order to double Mansfield towards the south. This island projects twenty or twenty-five leagues out into the bay along the east coast, and from north to south is about fifteen leagues in extent; but the wind having veered to that side, we were forced to tack again to the north-west and retrace our course.

On the morning of the 5th, the wind, veering to the north-north-east again, set us back on our course, driving fairly strongly. Shortly afterwards it blew a little abeam, but did not prevent us from making as much headway as we had done before on the same course, till we sighted the south end of Mansfield, which we left to starboard [*sic*]. On taking the altitude at noon we found ourselves in latitude $61^{\circ} 52'$. After dinner, the wind, having become a little adverse, did not carry us very far but, during the night veering right aft, it drove us smartly along our course to the west-south-west.

On the 6th, the wind, having greatly abated, bore us slowly on until ten o'clock, when it dropped entirely, and we were stayed almost the whole afternoon about fifty-three leagues from the outlet of the strait, in about latitude 61° , though we were not able to take it exactly.

On the 7th, 8th, and 9th, we were often becalmed or forced by adverse winds to beat to windward, so that we made but little headway.

On the morning of the 10th, the wind carried us along in the same manner for some hours more, although it

¹On the chart of Hudson Bay this is now called Mansel island. La Potherie calls it Isle Phéliepeaux.

was a little abeam; but it became more of a head wind, and we made a little less progress for the rest of the morning and the afternoon, making only three leagues in four hours, with the wind from the same quarter, until at four o'clock, being too much ahead, it forced us to bear to the west. We believed ourselves then to be sixty or sixty-five leagues from our river. A little while later, having gone about, we bore south-south-west, and then south-west one quarter south, nearly the whole night, making about seven leagues in four hours; the exceptionally heavy roll kept us from making more. It rocked us so that we could not hold our course in any direction.

On the 11th, we were tossed about in the same way and by the same wind, which, having become less favourable, did not advance us much, as the drift and the violent waves confined our course almost entirely towards the south. On taking the altitude at noon we found ourselves in latitude $59^{\circ} 5'$.

On the 12th, we still sailed south, but not very far, and towards noon to the west-south-west, and upon taking the altitude found ourselves in latitude $58^{\circ} 15'$; almost the entire afternoon we sailed along with a fairly moderate wind from the same quarter until sundown, when it became almost entirely calm. During the night and the following morning, having gone south-west one quarter west, we found ourselves at noon on the 13th in latitude $57^{\circ} 44'$. After dinner we took the same course till evening, when, the wind having veered to the north and shortly after, to the north-north-west, we bore west the whole night.

On the 14th, we held the same course all morning, but always under very light sail, because, as the wind

was violent and the sea rolling too much, it would not have been wise to approach too quickly the land which we hoped to see that day; but, for fear of approaching it with much danger during the night, we lay to for the night off the cape.¹

On the 15th, from day-break on, we continued along the same course, and at eight o'clock caught sight of land. Having sailed towards it for about two leagues, to a depth of only four fathoms of water, we turned about in order to keep away from it, and bore towards the open sea until noon; for we could not examine it as it was too shallow. At noon we took the altitude, while we went back towards land, and it was $56^{\circ} 33'$, that is to say, twelve and a third leagues farther south than the river, which is in latitude $57^{\circ} 10'$, according to M. l'Allemand.² The weather being adverse, we were forced to cast anchor. We perceived a heavy smoke on land. We believed that it was Indians on a river which, in my opinion, empties into this place, and we were on the point of sending a canoe in order to get some information, but the weather did not permit it.

On the 17th, seeing that we were no closer to land in a season when south winds are not prevalent in that sea, and that the west wind held, we were resolved to take advantage of it to put to the open sea by tacking north-north-west, which we did between twelve o'clock, when the anchor was weighed, and three o'clock when the anchor was cast in ten fathoms of water; but at eight o'clock in the evening, by means of a south wind, we made ready to bear west-north-west, north-west, north-

¹On this day Radisson was leaving the mouth of the Hayes river in the *Happy Return* for England, with the furs collected during the previous year.

²The latitude of the beacon on the marsh at the mouth of Hayes river is $57^{\circ} 3' 20''$.

west one quarter west, or west, in turn, whichever the sounding called for, for we took soundings continually all night for fear of running aground on some point of land that could not be seen, as all these lands are so low that the slightest surf hides them.

On the 18th, we sailed all day in the same direction, and when the altitude was taken we found ourselves in latitude $57^{\circ} 8'$, within sight of land; during the night we cast anchor quite close to the point in the channel where the river is that we were seeking, and waited for a favourable wind to carry us there.

On the 19th, having sailed on till noon, we found ourselves in latitude $57^{\circ} 20'$, that is to say, $10'$ farther north than the river, so that we hoped to find the entrance very easily.

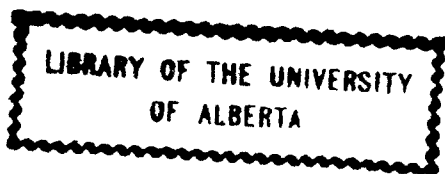
On the 20th, fearing to come too late to the colony, we offered up prayers, and on the 21st from two o'clock in the morning a south wind sprang up, as steady and moderate as one could wish for. We weighed anchor and proceeded along the coast, keeping in four fathoms of water by taking soundings as far as the channel of the river, towards which we dared not advance because of a shoal which we would be forced to double in order to enter it, and which could not be seen in the darkness of the night.

On the 22nd, having weighed anchor at day-break, we doubled the shoal and entered into the long-desired river. It is fairly wide, but very shallow, and between two extremely low banks covered only by bushes and low woods; the north shore, which separates it from the Great river or Nelson river, is a little higher than the other, from which another small river empties into ours and is lost. We were no sooner there than we

caught sight of an English flag and some buildings on a high spot at a point opposite on our right.¹ We were the more surprised at this as we had done nothing but cruise about the strait and the bay for six weeks. Scarcely had we cast anchor when a sloop came to us with four sailors and the captain of the crew to ask us, on behalf of their commander, for a parley. His request was granted and, having been led to the cabin, he told us, by his interpreter, who was a young Frenchman called Le Parisien, who had been employed for some years in their service, that he came on behalf of his commander to ask us to inform him of the reason of our coming. We told him that we had brought M. de la Martinière, counsellor to the King, to his home, there to govern in the name of His Majesty on that river and on those rivers which are tributary to it, of which the French had been the first to take possession. On that, he said to us that the English were the first possessors, but we told him that this was impossible since they had not entered the river until this year, and two years before we had built a house eight leagues above, where eight Frenchmen were waiting for us; then he told us that Radisson²

¹The place where the English employees of the Hudson's Bay Company were building was on the north-west bank of Hayes river, about half a mile below the present position of York Factory. The fort occupied that site till 1793, when, on account of a flood in 1788, it was moved by Joseph Colen to its present position.

²See the introduction to this volume for a brief account of Radisson's activities on Hudson Bay. Though a Frenchman, he had been instrumental in organizing the English Hudson's Bay Company, and after establishing trading-posts for it on James bay, left that Company and went to France. In 1682, while in the employ of the French, he captured the Company's employees who were trading with the Indians at the mouth of the Nelson river, while he himself built a French trading-post at the mouth of the Hayes river. In 1683 he left his nephew in charge on Hayes river and sailed for Quebec. In 1684 he returned to England and re-entered the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company. He at once sailed for Hudson Bay, and in conformity with instructions received from the French government took possession of the trading-post on Hayes river for



had come with two English frigates, and had taken them with him eight days before with all their booty, which consisted of about twenty thousand beaver which the French had got in trade, in addition to those which they themselves had got in trade since their arrival. We then said that it was a manifest robbery, and that Radisson was a traitor; he agreed at first, and said that they had arrived there on August 1, that is to say, according to their reckoning, August 11;¹ that they had left England at the beginning of June, and that they had left there under a leader who commanded in the name of the Company of England. He added that he believed that, as the two Kings were not at war, we would live amicably, and each trade on his own side. M. de la Martinière replied that he recognized no other governor than himself in this place, and that, as the French were not trading in the rivers of the bay belonging to the English, he could not allow the English to trade in those that belonged to the King, his master. The English captain answered that he had nothing to say in reply but that, if the other agreed, he would go and make a report to his commander and would return as soon as possible. M. de la Martinière consented to this. He returned shortly after, with five others and unarmed as in the first instance, to tell M.

the Company, and taking the furs collected during the past year, he sailed for England, and he passed La Martinière in Hudson Bay. La Martinière knew nothing about what Radisson was doing until his arrival at Hayes river. He expected to take possession of and plunder Radisson's trading-post, without any regard for Radisson's interests, to enter good buildings where he could spend a comfortable winter, and to enjoy large profits from a lucrative trade which he had not had the trouble of building up. All these hopes and expectations were now shattered, and in order to understand and appreciate Silvy's account, this keen disappointment and chagrin must always be kept in mind.

¹As the English were using the Julian, and the French the Gregorian calendar, these figures should evidently be reversed.

de la Martinière that, if he wished, he could confer on land with his commander,¹ for whom M. de la Martinière could send his sloop and five Frenchmen to conduct him to the rendezvous to which he, the English captain, and his five men in their sloop would escort M. de la Martinière at the same time. M. de la Martinière told him that, although it was his master's place to come and find him, he would, however, agree. He then sent M. l'Allemand and five others towards the English commander, who, not wishing to allow them to come on shore, came to meet them in a sloop. No doubt he did not want our people to see in what a parlous state they were. Being put in our sloop, he was taken to the place arranged for the interview, where M. de la Martinière, accompanied by several others, went to find him. There they passed the rest of the day in civilities, examining their commissions, and agreeing together as to the mode of conduct under the circumstances; and, although M. de la Martinière always spoke quite haughtily, they concluded that they could live in peace, they at their post, which was the one we had intended to occupy, and we where we pleased, without either side fortifying ourselves.

On the morning of the 23rd, he learned that the English, who lodged only under a tent as their house was not yet finished, had fortified themselves with a battery of twenty-four pieces of cannon with which their ship had been ballasted and which they had drawn out of the hold, loaded, and pointed towards the river during the conference, in spite of having pledged their word not to fortify themselves there without a new order from England. M. de la Martinière then despatched M. de

¹Thomas Phipps.

la Pierre to call upon the English commander to dismount the battery, unload his cannon, and pile them up at the foot of the bank, and to send him six of his principal officers (which M. de la Martinière would promise to send back as soon as he had passed on) as hostages of his word and of his good faith, which he had rendered suspect since he could only have done this with the design of firing on M. de la Martinière when he would pass to establish himself farther up the river; but if the English commander refused to do so, M. de la Martinière would act in accordance with the terms of his commission. M. de la Pierre carried this message and returned, accompanied by an Englishman who spoke French and who interpreted his commander's reply, which was in writing. It stated that he could not give the men demanded; that they would live in harmony; that the differences which might arise between the two camps would be decided amicably; that in passing we would be under no obligation to lower our flag; that if we wished them to fire the cannon in salute they would do so; that, as his battery had been set up long before our arrival, and only for defence in case of attack, since they were in a strange country among savage people, he would not dismount it, *etc.*, but that the word of an honest man could and should be relied on. M. de la Martinière answered in such a way as to make them understand that he would use force, and that he meant to compel them in spite of all their cannon; after which the envoy was sent back to land.

Things being in that state, and the season far advanced, we thought of housing ourselves. Two men were sent to select a suitable place, and to see if, between the English and ourselves, or in the neighbourhood,

there would be enough wood for building and for fire-wood during the winter. On their return, they told us that the English had fired a shot at them, which had forced them to withdraw as they had no order to reply to them. This they could certainly have done on a band of nine or ten men who were walking about on the shore not more than four paces away, and who did not see them as they were seated among the low bushes and were concealed by them; although they had heard only one musket-shot, the ball of which, according to their statement, they had heard whistle. Whether they were mistaken or not, M. de la Martinière did not abandon his resolve to make an attack upon the English, which succeeded as ill as it had been ill-conceived, for, in broad daylight and in full view of the English, he had himself conveyed ashore with about thirty men, in order to make a night attack. If the English, who could count them all as they disembarked, had had the sense to hide themselves in the bushes and await their attack in that spot, they could have shot at them without being seen, while they were busily engaged running and sticking in the mud where several had to be carried on the shoulders of their men. When night had fallen, they all advanced to the attack among the dense bushes, and at different spots, having been split up into small bands; but, as they were only undisciplined and unintelligent men, as soon as they drew near, the English sentinels heard the noise of the bushes and gave the alarm to their men, who aimed a cannon immediately in that direction. Terror spread so strongly among our ranks that, after five musket-shots, which they fired only after one that the English had fired, they all retired in disorder and were unable to muster themselves again, or even to

catch a glimpse of each other, because of the darkness. They lost in that rout some small pistols, and some mittens which the bushes had caught out of their belts, and which the English, on finding them afterwards, kept as trophies.

On the 24th, having seen smoke on the other side below us, a canoe was sent, as much to discover who it was as to visit those parts and to see if, in the river of which I have spoken before, a more advantageous position could not be found.¹ Soon after, they returned with two canoes of Indians, who had traded with our French people and who would not go to the English, whom they call (and rightly) "bad Frenchmen." They had followed us from the first place where we landed because they had recognized, by the white flag, that we were the "good Frenchmen" from Quebec. We gave them the best possible reception in order to win them over. They went away very satisfied, promising to come again to trade with us in the spring, and to bring over to us everyone whom they might meet. On the report of those who had visited the small river, it was decided to take up our position there without delay, for fear of being overtaken by the ice. Thither we repaired on the 25th, after having taken all our men on board again. Sand bars make the entrance very difficult, as there is only a small channel in the centre, which one could not know how to follow unless it were marked everywhere by buoys; so that the wind, driving us a little to one side, sent us aground on the bank just at the entrance, and we could not get afloat until the spring tide of another moon. And

¹This is the stream now known as French creek which flows into the east side of Hayes river several miles below York Factory. The Cree name given me for it was *Notawatowi Sipi*, meaning Fetching river. As far as I know it has never yet (1929) been surveyed or explored.

it was even necessary to unload the ship entirely, even to her ballast, in order to set her afloat. As for the barque, drawing less water than we did, she proceeded at once to a spot which we had chosen a quarter of a league farther on, and there they immediately began to construct buildings. As soon as she had been unloaded, the barque and the two sloops helped to unload our ship, but on account of the distance our company was divided, and the progress of our work greatly retarded, so that it was not finished until the end of October. It consisted of three houses and a fort, laid out by M. l'Allemand, made of logs and defended by two bastions and a salient angle.

After beginning this work, two of our men were sent to the old house¹ to see in what state they would find it. They reported that the French had left it in the spring in order to establish themselves on an island² four leagues away, beyond a small rapid, where they had made quite a comfortable dwelling to which they had transported everything; and there they had been captured, either willingly or by force, for nothing certain is known about it. It was decided to send M. Le Gardeur there with ten men to put themselves in possession as it is a post suitable both for hunting and for trade, for the Indians pass by that spot, and the English sloops are unable to come up because of the rapid. Some time afterwards, we sent them a canoe laden with provisions, on which the English fired three volleys without doing any harm. After this hostile action, they sent a canoe

¹This refers to the house or houses built by Radisson in 1682, where he lived with his English prisoners from the Nelson river during the winter of 1682-83.

²In the spring of 1684 Jean Chouart, who had been left by his uncle Radisson in charge at Hayes river, abandoned the trading-post near the mouth of the river, and moved up to a wooded island now called Rainbow island, but called by the Indians Pakwaik or Pakowemistikūsha island, both of which words mean Frenchman or French-Canadian island.

towards us with one of their interpreters and two Indians, who, being discovered by our hunters, showed a white flag on landing. The interpreter was conducted to our ship, which was still stranded. We were notified at the fort of his arrival, and as M. de la Martinière was in bed with rheumatism, which had greatly enfeebled him, I was asked to go there and reply to what the envoy might have to say to us on behalf of his commander. I went, and the envoy said that he had come to lay complaints, and to demand the grounds for the affront which had for no reason been offered them. I replied that, on the day we left the river to come to our present position, we had been on the point of sending to them to lay the same complaints, with more reason than they, since it was they who had offered the first affront by firing upon two of our men who had been sent, by day, to choose a place where we could take up a convenient position. Our men, however, had retired without firing upon a band of their men, who were walking about on the shore, and whom they could see in the open, without being seen, hidden as they were by the small bushes. And that the following night, some others who had gone for the same reason, and also to hunt, returning very late, and passing a little too near the English, were again fired on, and this obliged them to discharge five shots in the air, although they did not stop: and this would not have been the case, as the English themselves well knew, if they had seriously intended to attack them.¹ The envoy replied to all this that, with regard to the events of the day, they had neither seen nor heard anyone, and that, when they fired, it was only to divert themselves, and without bullets. I said that

¹This is an extraordinary perversion of the story of the ill-conceived attack on York Factory told on a previous page.

there had been a bullet, for it had whistled in the ears of our men and had made them turn back. He replied that it was by accident, then, that some of their men must have inadvertently taken some muskets loaded with ball, since they could not have done it intentionally, as they had not the least suspicion that anyone was there. He added that, concerning the events of the night, our men had attacked them and fired on the sentinels, and the threats which had been made to them during the day had forced them to use bullets in order to guard themselves. I said to him that our men had merely replied to the musket-shots fired at them because of the noise they made walking through the bushes. He added, at that, that they had seen us coming ashore in large numbers, and well armed which could only be with the intention of attacking them. I answered him that the report of our two men on whom they had fired had forced us to put ourselves in position to assist the men visiting these places, and our hunters who were on the shore, about whom we must be anxious after that sign of hostility; that I should like to believe his word that they had fired without design, but that, knowing nothing about the circumstances at that time, we had reason to be suspicious; and that they could judge for themselves whether or not, if we had intended to attack them during the night, we would have been so ill-advised as to disembark in broad daylight, and in full view of them, rather than during the night, in order to surprise them; so that this proceeding, far from serving as a legitimate basis for their complaint, on the contrary justified what I have just related. Having nothing more to reply, he told me that his commander had forbidden all their men to fire at any Frenchman unless they were

attacked, and that we could go everywhere in complete freedom, even to their house, in the day-time; but that at night all who approached would be suspected and would be fired upon. "If that is true," I said to him, "how is it that recently, in broad daylight, you fired three cannon-shots upon one of our canoes as it was coming up the river, so that the balls fell in the water alongside it?" He answered that they had not known who it was, and taking them for Indians, had fired three shots to call them over. "One does not call Indians with a bullet," I answered; "that would rather be the way to make them run away." "We do not fire over them," he said, "but in front." "That is just the way to reach them," I told him, "for in firing beyond them no harm is done, for the steadily advancing canoe will be out of danger before the ball reaches it. But we French do not concern ourselves greatly over your bullets. We go everywhere without fear, and, therefore, you may tell your commander that his complaints are ill-founded, and that we have cause to make some to him with more justification. Here is M. de la Pierre," I said to him, "who made ready to go to you at dawn, with regard to this affair, the day after your pretended insult, but the fear of being delayed, seeing that it was time to think of our winter quarters, made us delay the matter until now that we are housed." We told him to salute the commander on behalf of M. de la Martinière and ourselves, and to assure him that they could always come with the same security that he, himself, had promised, provided it was not night; after which the envoy withdrew. And since one of the two Indians, who called himself a chief of his nation, had been found by our men, so the English maintained, hiding himself in the bushes, I told him to

take good care not to come in secret to our shore lest he be taken for a spy or an enemy and be fired upon; for the French would henceforth challenge the English or whomsoever came towards them by stealth.

A few days after this, we sent two canoes filled with provisions with M. Pinard and four other Frenchmen, who were to take them to M. Le Gardeur at the island. As soon as the English saw them, they embarked fifteen armed men in a sloop in order to cross the river and capture them. Our men, seeing them approach, made a half turn to the left in order to throw themselves into a boat which they found opposite the English. As the two canoes were at a little distance from each other, the first, which carried M. Pinard, had no sooner rounded the point in the stream, when the two men who were guiding it jumped ashore, picked up their muskets, and, without more ado, ran away to the fort; saying to M. Pinard, that, as he was not so vigorous, he could follow them more slowly. The other canoe, which was following, as soon as it was in the shelter of the same point, was promptly unloaded by the two men, who hid everything in the bushes; and, while Jean Guyon went to help M. Pinard unload the other canoe, abandoned by its two men, Nicolas Pré placed himself at the end of the point with his musket in order to see the number of the enemy, who were not yet within gunshot. They, seeing him alone, called him to them; but he, defying them, said, "Come ashore yourselves, if you have the courage." "Our commander orders you to come and speak with him," they said. "Go and tell him", replied Nicolas, "that if he has anything to say to me, he may come and find me himself." "We will make you come by force," they said, "if you will not come peacefully." "You

would not dare," replied Nicolas, "you are too cowardly to try it. Take courage! Approach!" While he was saying this, he kept looking occasionally to the edge of the wood, turning his head around as if he were making a sign to someone. That ruse did not succeed badly, for the English, having noticed it, imagined that our men had only gone there to draw them into an ambuscade; and that kept them from approaching closer to the bank, from which Nicolas did not cease to annoy them by jeering at them for the two hours that they spent looking at him, without daring to do more, until their commander ordered their retreat, and they returned as they had come. However, the two others, who had taken the road to the fort, had arrived there, and informed us of what had happened, giving us to understand that all was lost. M. de la Martinière quickly despatched seven well-armed men to go by land and carry an order to M. Le Gardeur to return with all his men, to bring as many as possible of their best articles, and to set fire to the two houses and everything else that they could not safely hide. They made their way right to the small river where the canoes had entered; having arrived there, just at nightfall, and having found the canoes and all the baggage, they made a fire on the beach, in full view of the English, there to wait for the night tide by means of which they would arrive early in the morning at the island where our men were. We were, however, very anxious about M. Pinard and the other two, when, about ten o'clock in the evening, we heard them call from the other side of our stream, a little below the fort. At first we armed ourselves for fear of surprise, in case the English were using them and making them say what they wished in order to seize those who would

go to fetch them. So we questioned them at a distance, and, on being enlightened, we told them to approach opposite us, which they did, and, having crossed the river, they told us how the affair had happened. This relieved us only of part of our anxiety, for we were still anxious about M. Pinard, who had been unable to make his way through so much bush, so dense and difficult to penetrate. The next day at dawn we sent six good men to rescue him and the supplies, provided the English had not carried them away during the night. An hour later, we heard M. Pinard call for someone to bring him across, and he was brought at once. He was in an unrecognizable state, covered with mud from his head to his feet. He had dragged himself along all night as well as he could, but had unfortunately come to a swamp where he sank up to his waist in mud, and he had had great difficulty in extricating himself; he had even been forced to leave his greatcoat behind. A few steps farther on, he was obliged to throw himself on the ground, as he was unable to stir, being quite worn out by overwhelming exhaustion. Some days later, he went back to look for his greatcoat, but he could not find the spot because of the ice and snow there. Our six men, having found one canoe and the supplies, returned in the evening loaded with a large part of the supplies, and intended to seek the other canoe later. We knew by this that our men on their way to the island had taken the other canoe so as to make better progress, because, if the English had been there, everything would have been taken away. That led us to believe that they were not very strong, since they had not had the courage to attempt an attack in which their success was assured, and which we would not have missed had we had such a splendid oppor-

tunity. And, as everything was in the same state as before, it was decided to write to M. Le Gardeur to burn nothing, but to hide everything; to close the house well, and to bring all the provisions and the most necessary articles in the canoes. Two or three days later, they all came down, some of them in canoes, amid the drifting ice, and the others by land. Two of the canoes arrived safely at the fort, but the men were so frozen with the cold that they could hardly move. The other was forced to land opposite the English. They left it there with part of the supplies, which they would get the next day. The arrival of all our men pleased us greatly, not only because our work would be more quickly completed, but because we would be in a better state to make ourselves feared by our neighbours during the winter, and to make them repent of having commenced hostilities.

As soon as our little river was frozen, someone decided to cut a hole in the ice to see if there were any fish, and so many salmon trout were found that in two morning tides, we caught more than six hundred, partly with the hook and partly with the net, one being sufficient to satisfy a man. This was good, for we had scarcely anything but flour, peas, and Indian corn.

The English, having seen our men return and judging by their number that there was no one left at the island, ran there at once; but, having found nothing, they set fire to the houses, not only for spite, but to prevent us from going back in the spring to trade. However, they were much surprised to learn at Easter from the Indians that our men were there in a goodly number well supplied with munitions, food, and merchandise, and that they had built a house there larger than the first.

Some time after this fine act of hostility, Le Parisien,

of whom I have spoken, ill-treated by his commander, came to surrender himself to us. They sent their interpreter to ask for news of him, and to see how we were housed and fortified. He found our hunters, who kept him at the edge of the wood and sent to inquire from M. de la Martinière if they should permit him to advance. It was decided to treat him as they had treated our envoys whom they did not permit to approach their fort, or their ships, although we had always received theirs in our cabin. So M. de la Martinière spoke to him at that place, and gave him to understand that this reception, so contrary to the custom of the French, was caused by the uncivil manner in which his commander had received our envoys. He gave him information about Le Parisien, and as he seemed to be astonished because we did not go near them at all, M. de la Martinière told him that the winter would be long enough to do so, that we had allowed them to set fire to our houses, *etc.*, but that from then on, we, in our turn, would commence [hostilities]; that it was not their battery that had hindered us from passing in front of them in order to establish ourselves farther up, but it was the convenience of the place we were in, which we had found more suitable than any other for wintering; for the rest, in the following spring, we would not fail to go above them to trade. "You must be very strong, then," said the envoy, "for we are determined to do our best to keep you from passing." "We will pass in spite of you," said M. de la Martinière, "as there is no sign that you will be more courageous in the spring than you have been in the autumn, when fifteen English dared not attack one Frenchman who defied them to fight." The envoy would have liked to hide the cowardice of

his people, but could not succeed, so he took his leave and withdrew, much ashamed of having been ridiculed, for he had been the leader of that band.

During the winter, the extreme cold kept us from harassing our enemies, who remained at home and did not wander about. It was not possible to go abroad at night, and all that our men could do was to search for provision by hunting white partridge. They passed in flocks for months. More than two thousand of them were killed, and sometimes two hundred would be brought in in one day to the fort. All the country for two leagues around was tracked with the marks of our snow-shoes, and the English heard about them nothing but the guns of our hunters, which, doubtless, made them keep to the house longer than they wished. Indeed, towards the end of the winter, two Indians came to see us from the English fort, and told us that five others had arrived there, and had left with as many Englishmen, who were to return within four days laden with meat. M. de Saint-Marc was immediately sent with some others to lie in wait for them at the island, or farther up if necessary. But the next day, the very same Indians, who had gone to see their relatives, met them, and conjecturing the reason of their journey, no sooner lost sight of them than they changed their path and warned the English that we were lying in wait to capture them on their return. They, profiting by this warning, came back by roundabout paths through the forest, which they did with much difficulty, as they do not know how to travel on snow-shoes nor how to run through the woods like the French. Such being the case, our men, after having waited and used up their supplies, returned, their faces half frozen.

At the beginning of Lent, we again thought of sending some men to the island to rebuild and to carry there some merchandise to trade; and to accomplish this more successfully before the thaw, sleighs were prepared and a road was made so that they could be drawn in the shelter of the woods, without danger of being disturbed by the enemy, and so that we would not always be obliged to escort our sleigh drivers. Our carpenters, also, made a large sloop, of quite poor wood in truth, but, on the other hand, very light, so as to be prepared to make more easily under sail all the trips that would be necessary to the place we intended to select, beyond the English. As soon as the river was free, we began to do as we had said we would, namely, to pass under their noses, notwithstanding their great threats. They began to fulfil their threats, making sorties upon us, but in so cowardly a manner that they should have been ashamed. For, on the second voyage that we made there, one canoe only, with three men, sailed up in broad daylight with no escort on land, and was pursued by two sloops manned by twelve or fifteen men each. Our men, seeing that they were close enough, landed, and, having dragged the canoe a short distance from the shore on the mud, ran and hid themselves behind a stump which they came across just at the right time; from there, while the enemy disembarked, they saluted them with seven musket-shots at once, and with such suddenness that the English were seized with fright, and re-embarked, and went home. After that the French continued their way, and passed in sight of their enemies, and of a band of Indians who were with them. As that attempt had succeeded so badly, they dared not make another upon our travellers, who went up to a distance

of two leagues and a half from the fort, to a spot that was suitable for trade, which M. de la Martinière had examined and chosen for building a storehouse;¹ there M. Malard traded, assisted by M. Le Gardeur, who never spares himself in the interests of the Company. And, because it was judged that this post would be sufficient, the men from the island, with all that they had, were sent there so as not to be scattered in so many places, and so that there would be fewer journeys to make.

The Indians along the sea coast like the English better than the French. They are only a handful of very wretched people who, after trading to the English the few skins they had, came to find us, more to ask for something to eat than for anything else. They were here for two or three days, during which time I instructed them. They listened to me, and then laughed at me. It is morally impossible to christianize them. Being always wanderers, they come only to trade the little they possess, then they fly away like birds of passage. It is the same with the Assiniboines and the Kilistinons² who come down from a distance of from fifteen to twenty days inland. They arrive to-day and leave to-morrow. As they only come to trade, they are not capable of religion, at least unless one were with them for a long time, and in their village, which is beyond the great lake of the Assiniboines, of which Port Nelson is the outlet, according to what we hear. We can make no progress there.

All being ready at the warehouse about the middle of

¹This would seem to have been on the bank of Hayes river east of Fishing island. Their buildings in the woods on the north-east side of French creek were not well situated for trade with the Indians.

²This is the name by which Crees are known to the Ojibways.

June, we sent ahead an Indian chief, who wished to attach himself to us, and two Frenchmen, with presents to invite them and to notify them. A few days later, they returned accompanied by about seventy canoes of Crees, or Kilistinons, loaded with very fine pelts. First of all, the river was barred with a line with pieces of tobacco to stop them. They obeyed, and when they had landed, they were invited to trade by a feast and by a present, to which they did not fail to respond. They went back the next day, having finished their trade. Two other small bands came, one of fifteen and the other of six, canoes. While we waited for them, M. de la Martinière, M. Macard [*sic*], and M. l'Allemand brought to the fort the large sloop and the canoes laden with beaver, which they had traded and which the English wished to seize, as they had boasted to the Indians. So, as soon as they saw them, they sent their large sailing sloop, well manned and armed, to bar their way. Some Indians who did not know what might happen, came to me, quite upset. "Come and see, come and see the 'bad Frenchmen' who are crossing and who want to steal from the French." "Fear nothing," I told them, "and you will soon see them flee." Indeed, as soon as our men stopped to wait for them, they went about in order to get back to their house. That was their last effort, and since that time they have seen us pass and repass without ever saying a word, but not without displeasure. Their cowardice was always so great that they never dared to come within range of gunshot.

In our uncertainty as to whether the Assiniboines would come or not, and whether it would be early or late, we decided not to risk losing all by waiting for them, and to take advantage of the spring tides which hastened

our embarkation, and without which we could not put to sea. So we collected our baggage, and having gone back to the fort, set out from it on July 15,¹ after having set fire to it, to go to our ships which had been for some time at the mouth of our little river, or rather of our stream; from there we pushed on in the evening, in order to be ready to set sail the following day. Scarcely had we lost sight of the English fort at the mouth of the river, when we were surrounded by ice with which all the sea seemed filled, and which the currents drew towards the lower end of the bay. We were there for the space of twelve days of easy navigation, under light sail, and as if groping our way. On the 11th or 12th, we saw before us a large, clear space, which led us to believe that we were outside the ice. In two days we were in it again, but it was only for two days, after which we encountered no more of it, neither in the bay, nor in the strait, which we entered about the eve of St. Lawrence.² Some days before, we had killed a polar bear, which, having probably been carried away by the ice, had set out swimming, and had come to our boat. He was taken on board with the hoisting tackle. He had very short and very fat legs. His paws and his claws were horrible, and his buttocks seemed like those of a coach horse; also, he had a good half foot of fat all over his body. Quite young and small as he was, he did not fail to yield half a cask of oil.

We were not very much farther on in the strait when, about two o'clock in the morning, we heard the cry, "A ship!" That word made us jump out of bed to see

¹This date is evidently an error of the copyist. The correct reading may be July 5.

²As St. Lawrence Day is August 10, this would be August 9.

what she was. As soon as we were certain about her, all was prepared for battle, and, sailing in her direction, by holding the wind, we cut across her path so that in a few hours we had reached her.¹ And, because she did not lower her flag, although we were so near, we ordered her to do so by a shot from our cannon. As soon as it was lowered, the captain was told by an interpreter to come on board in his sloop to show us his commission. He brought it immediately to us. It consisted of nothing but a farewell letter from the Company of England, which had sent him to the foot of the bay, so he said, although it was to Port Nelson, as we knew from two Frenchmen whom he was taking there. We asked him if this Company was the same as that of the year before, and when he told us that it was, M. de la Martinière and M. l'Allemand asked me my opinion as to what they should do, and if they should capture this ship, although there was no war between the two nations. I told them that there was no reason to hesitate, that since they had met with property belonging to those who had robbed the Company of Canada, which employed them, they could and should capture it by virtue of natural justice which is not dependent upon anyone at all. We told the English captain then that he was taken prisoner and we sent at the same time to take possession of the ship. He said that the ship belonged to him, and not to the Company, which owned only the cargo. We replied that he had nothing to fear, that the Company of England was too just to let him lose anything without

¹The ship here referred to is the *Perpetuana Merchant*, of sixty tons, Edward Hume, commander, on her way from London to York Factory. The pages that follow contain an account of her capture, and of fights with two other ships belonging to the Company. For a further account of these actions, and the consequences, see the introduction, pp. 14-17.

compensating him. We learned from him that of four ships that had left London for the bay, he knew of his own, another a little larger, and two frigates of twelve pieces of cannon and as many swivel-guns each. Radisson's frigate, which had taken the lead, must have passed as we were in the bay, and the two others, which he had left behind him before he entered the strait, would assuredly pass within a couple of days. It would have been advisable, in my opinion, to make harbour so that we could make ready at leisure, while these ships passed without seeing us. M. de la Martinière [M. l'Allemand?] agreed, but M. de la Martinière, who is pleased to play the great man, did not consider it suitable. So we continued on our course, and the next day, if I am not mistaken, we saw another vessel, and, although we could not distinguish whether she was the small one or the large, we sailed straight towards her, and reached her towards evening.¹ We warned her by a cannon-shot to lower her flag, as we had warned the other. The captain obeyed, but having recognized the captured ketch, refused to come on board, resolved to wait to be boarded rather than to surrender. We threatened him, but in vain. This made us resolve to attack by a discharge of cannon and muskets, which, however, accomplished nothing as the English captain had hidden all his men. He did not even wish to fire on us, although he had cannon and swivel-guns with which he could have shattered our men whom he saw exposed on the deck. As we lacked cannon-balls, and muskets were of no use against men who did not show themselves at all, we deliberated whether we would board. Everyone was

¹This was a ship belonging to, or in the employ of, the Hudson's Bay Company, Captain Richard Lucas, commander.

inclined to it and we only awaited the order. M. de la Martinière and M. l'Allemand again asked my opinion. The first, however, told me that the English had some powder-chests, and that he did not want to lose anyone, since we could not lose a man without finding ourselves short, and without exposing ourselves to the danger of losing all—both our prize and our ship—for lack of men to sail them; as M. Moisan had protested some days before that even if one man was taken from his crew, which was the strongest of all, he would answer neither for his ship, nor for guiding her to Quebec. I said, taking this into consideration, that it would be necessary to abandon the idea, as I could not believe that, after showing so much pride, the English would surrender without resistance; that I did not doubt at all that we could capture them by boarding them, but that we would lose some of our men in doing so, and that we must either risk this or let them go. The latter resolution was taken, and we set forth on our way. The approach of nightfall would also, perhaps, have caused confusion which might have occasioned evil results.

The next day, towards noon, tacking towards the open sea, we saw another ship.¹ As we were sure she was the large one, and knowing that we were in no condition to pursue her, we tacked again and sailed towards land, gaining always on our course into the wind. The English, thinking that we were afraid, sailed towards us all afternoon, but going scarcely any better than we did, they gained almost nothing. However, when night came on, under cover of the darkness, we sailed before the wind, steering straight for land, and afterwards keeping under light sail, towards the west, where we saw some

¹The *Success*, Captain Outlaw, on which Captain Bridgar was a passenger.

likelihood of a harbour suitable to shield us from the attack of the enemy, who, having lost sight of us, because of the darkness or because of the land which concealed us from their sight, kept straight on their tack and drew near to land more than a league away from us, towards the east. When the day, which does not close at all in this country for several months, had brightened, we could perceive that we were in a position not to be afraid, as the sea had become calm. This fine calm made us decide to tow ourselves, in order to gain the harbour of which I have spoken which we saw between mountains of rock. The enemy, following our example, launched two sloops for the same purpose, but we travelled more quickly than they so that by mid-afternoon, favoured by a breeze which conveniently arose, we entered as fine a harbour as could be desired. M. Moisan, who was ahead of us, went straight in without any difficulty. For us, the entrance was more dangerous, for a gust of wind took us by surprise, and hurled us on a horrible point of rock, where the ship would have been shattered if the surf of the sea had not held her a fathom away, which forced us to anchor promptly in order to keep clear of it while waiting for the return of our sloops which we had sent to hasten the ketch. When they had arrived, we signalled to those on the ketch to keep as much as they could to the other side of the harbour for fear of a similar accident; after which we weighed anchor and, being towed towards the same place, we took the wind in our sails and ran well ahead into the harbour, where we ran aground beyond the ketch, which had beached before us. The harbour is very shallow, almost completely dry at low tide, there remaining only a little channel of a river which empties there, and

into which the barque had pushed up to the very end, where she floated the whole time. It is surrounded by mountains of sheer rock, of which one point, jutting well out into the sea at the entrance, was of great advantage to us, not only because it shielded us and kept us out of sight from the sea, but also because it commanded a view of the enemy, who were forced to cast anchor a little below us in order not to run aground while trying to make headway. At once we sent ten or twelve fusiliers to post themselves among these jagged rocks, behind which they would be sheltered from the enemy's cannon, and from which they could harass them and keep them from being towed, if they desired to come closer to us; and for our better success, and to strike more terror into them, we had the culverin from the barque carried there. Later, the frigate came and posted herself in the same place, and cast anchor within sight of us, but too far for us to injure them. At first they were saluted from the point, which forced them to get under cover behind their rails, and to surround and fortify their outside planking by cables to stop the balls, so that nothing could be seen on their deck but drawn swords, which *Le Brilleur* [*Le Brigueur?*] and some other braggarts flashed in the air. After that display of bravado, they fired two cannon-shots against the rock at some fathoms above our men, who replied with the culverin. That same evening at nightfall, an Englishman, who served as ship's cook on the ketch, through an oversight on the part of our Frenchmen, seeing himself alone on deck while the men were eating in the cabin, jumped into a sloop and made his way towards the English, to whom he would not fail to tell what he had learned from our men, namely, that we had no cannon-balls. This might make them hopeful

of capturing us, or at least of recovering the ketch, and to succeed in this more easily by intimidating us, they put casks at the ends of their yards in order to frighten us and force us to surrender ourselves, or at least to parley, for fear of being burned. They spent all night firing shots, fighting, hammering, crashing, and making a violent noise, thinking by that to make us lose heart. But they were much surprised the following day to see us sail right to the end of the harbour, enter the river, and there put our three ships in the shelter of a high, sandy point, which protected them from the cannon; and even more so the day after, on seeing us handle a battery of eight pieces of cannon which we set up on the point overlooking the whole channel, through which they might have been able to reach us at high tide. They could see our men occupied, some in digging up sod, others carting it away, as a party making fortifications and embrasures with so much speed that it was impossible to count them. Likewise they saw the point of rock nearly half a league from us, always thick with men, besides those who came and went continually from one point to the other either to carry orders, provisions, or munitions. All this force dazzled them so that they thought we had twice as many men as we actually had. The speed with which, through the efforts of M. Le Gardeur who always had a hand in the work, our work was done, our battery set up, our cannons charged and discharged, partly with ball and partly otherwise, made them believe that their cook had deceived them when he said we had no more cannon-balls, since we wasted them in this way, but they did not know that it was lead, pebbles, or scraps of iron, which M. l'Allemand had thrown into the mould, while the others had been building the

works. That same day they sent a sloop to the other side of the harbour, where some landed and climbed upon the rocks, a cannon-shot away from us, while others occupied themselves at something that we could not make out. We believed, at first, that they had come to see if they could not place a cannon there as we had done on the other side, and fight us to their advantage, or if they could find the channel so as to have themselves towed there, and join us. To prevent this we quickly despatched five or six fusiliers to dislodge them, while some volleys were fired in that direction. When they were near enough, we fired three cannon-shots at the enemy sloop, against which the balls fell causing the English so much fear that those who were exploring the rock descended from it very hastily and re-embarked. At the same time, they heard behind them a dozen musket-shots which whistled in their ears. That made them look to themselves and decide that they were only wasting their time, seeing, above all, that we were not particularly eager to parley with them. They, themselves, then resolved to parley and sent *Le Brigueur*¹ in a sloop with a white flag; and he, having landed below the point, asked for M. l'Allemand, who at once went down to the beach with his interpreter. *Le Brigueur*, having asked for safety, and to be alone with M. l'Allemand, landed and conversed with him for a long time about immaterial things. He then asked how it happened that we had captured their ship, since there was no war between us. "How does it happen", said M. l'Allemand, "that in the midst of peace, you have chased us for two days without knowing what we might have captured, and recognizing us as French?" Then he added

¹Evidently the reference is to Captain Bridgar.

the reasons for taking their ship, which led the other to inveigh against Radisson, of whom he spoke as a traitor and a thief, and vowed he would kill him wherever he could find him. After having blustered in this way, he asked if we would not surrender the ship to them. M. l'Allemand said that she had not been captured in order to surrender, but, if they wished to recover her, they could come and take her themselves; but, first of all, they would have to overcome all the French, who were prepared to give them a warm reception. "We see", said Le Brigueur, "that you are very strong, but we will hold you here, as we have provisions for three years." "I am very glad of that," said M. l'Allemand. "We will have leisure to see you, and to regale you with caribou which we will kill while waiting until next spring when we can return to the Company in Canada." That reply showed Le Brigueur that there was nothing for him to do. He took leave, re-embarked, and went back to his side, where he and the others despairing of gaining anything but bullets, and, afraid of losing time and perhaps their ship and themselves—as might happen if they were so firmly grounded that they could not get off, for then they would be at our mercy—consequently weighed anchor early in the night, saluting us with all their cannon. We replied with ours, well satisfied to see them go.

We learned from our English that those on the two frigates had an express order from their Company to seize all the French they might find in the strait or the bay, regardless of their commission. An order so cruel and wicked merits vengeance. I did not fail to call to our captives' attention the difference between the character of the English and that of the French which is so humane, kind, benevolent, faithful, religious, and truly Christian.

This they could well understand by the good treatment we gave them despite the disclosure that they had thoughtlessly made to us.

After the feast of the Assumption, everything was made ready for our departure. Water was procured for the remainder of the voyage, and we sent to discover from the top of the mountains if the English had not made a ruse, and were lying in wait for us. After this, we set sail and continued our route successfully and quite promptly as far as the latitude of Belle Isle, where the bad weather rocked us in such a peculiar way for several days that we had to lie to at the cape, or advance, or fall back in turn, because of fogs which prevented our seeing and recognizing the coast, before which we dared not go near it. We then had the sorrow of seeing one of our men unfortunately lost when a huge wave threw him overboard in the strait of Newfoundland, and we were unable to save him. We were twice forced to make harbour in that strait for fear of being cast on the shore. We saw some Eskimos in canoes and with blunderbusses. They were as fat as the seals on which they live. Their eyes were so deep-set in their cheeks that they could scarcely be seen at all. Among them were some of those whom we had seen the other year, one hundred and fifty leagues from there, on the coast of Labrador. This makes me think there are only a handful of people who extend along these fearful coasts.

For the rest, this northern navigation would be one of the easiest if the periodical fogs, and the calms with which they are accompanied, did not make it troublesome and difficult; for you could sail there, always within sight of land, from Quebec to Hudson Bay, a distance of about six hundred leagues. The course is composed

of four directions, of which the first is about two hundred and fifty leagues to the east-north-east, from Quebec to Belle Isle, which is in the 52nd degree of latitude; the second is about two hundred and two leagues to the north-north-west, between Belle Isle and the entrance of the strait, which is in latitude 61° ; the third is about one hundred and twenty leagues to the west-north-west between the entrance of the strait and its outlet, or to the entrance to the bay in latitude 63° ; and the fourth is about one hundred and seventy leagues across to the south-west from the outlet of the strait to the river of the French in $57^{\circ} 10'$ of latitude. Consequently, the entire course amounts in all to about seven hundred and forty-two leagues, according to the estimate of our pilots.

NARRATIVE II

LETTER FROM FATHER MAREST,
MISSIONARY OF THE COMPANY
OF JESUS, TO FATHER DE LAM-
BERVILLE OF THE COMPANY OF
JESUS, OVERSEER OF THE MIS-
SIONS OF CANADA

NARRATIVE II

LETTER FROM FATHER MAREST, MISSIONARY
OF THE COMPANY OF JESUS, TO FATHER
DE LAMBERVILLE OF THE COMPANY OF
JESUS, OVERSEER OF THE MISSIONS OF
CANADA

The Peace of O.S.

My Reverend Father,

1694

IT is a little late in the day to ask me for news from Hudson Bay. I could have given you a better account when I revisited France on my way back to duty from the prisons of Plymouth. All I can do now is to send you a short journal which I wrote then, of which I have kept a copy. It begins with our departure from Quebec and ends with the return of the two ships which carried us to the bay in question. But first of all, give me leave to tell you what I learned at Quebec regarding the two Jesuits who preceded me to Hudson Bay and regarding the discovery of the bay.

It is two centuries and more since navigators of different nations set out to open a new route to China and Japan by the north but without success, God having placed an insuperable obstacle in the way in the shape of the mountains of ice found in these seas. It was with this purpose that, in 1611, the famous Hudson,¹ an

¹This is a very confused statement of the early voyages to Hudson Bay. Henry Hudson discovered the bay which bears his name in 1610, and was turned adrift by his mutinous crew, never to be heard of again, in 1611. A brief sketch of the voyages to the bay will be found in the introduction.

Englishman, penetrated five hundred leagues and more, farther than anyone else, by way of the great bay which bears his name to-day and in which he wintered. He would have continued his voyage the following spring, but growing scarcity of food and a crew enfeebled by illness obliged him to return to England. Two years later, he made a second attempt and, in 1614, reached longitude 82° . He was so many times in danger of perishing there, and had so much trouble in getting back that since then neither he nor anyone else has ventured to go so far. Nevertheless, to take advantage of the voyages and discoveries of their countrymen, English merchants have since established a post in Hudson Bay and begun to trade in furs with several nations of northern Indians, who come in their dug-outs in midsummer down the rivers which discharge into the bay. At first the English built just a few houses there to winter in and to wait in for the Indians. They had much to endure and many of them died from scurvy. But, as the furs brought by the Indians to the bay were very fine and the profits made from them are great, the English were not to be discouraged by the inclemency of the weather nor the severity of the climate. The French of Canada also wished to establish a post in Hudson Bay claiming that, as many of the neighbouring lands were part of the same continent as New France, they had the right to trade up to latitude 51° and even higher if they thought fit.

Misunderstanding soon arose between the two nations; forts were built by each for defence from the attacks of the other. Because of the frequent illnesses and the continual dangers with which this perilous navigation is fraught, the French did not think of undertaking it without the presence of a chaplain. In this

capacity Father Dalmas, a native of Tours, embarked for Hudson Bay. On his arrival, he offered to remain in the fort both to be of service to the French garrison there, and to have an opportunity of learning the language of the natives who bring their furs in summer, as well as to be able afterwards to go and preach the gospel to them. The ship, which was to have brought the garrison provisions in the following year, was quite unable to reach the bay because of violent contrary winds, so that the greater part of the garrison perished of hunger or illness; no more than eight were left, five of whom, forming a party to hunt on the snow in the woods, left in the fort Father Dalmas,¹ the surgeon, and a smith who made all sorts of tools. On their return four or five days later, those five men were much surprised not to find either the father or the surgeon. They enquired of the smith what was become of them. His evident embarrassment and incoherent replies, as well as blood stains on the snow, decided them to seize the wretch and put him in irons. The shock of his arrest, as well as the sting of conscience, led him to confess that, having been on bad terms for a long time with the surgeon, he had murdered him one morning and dragged his body to the river, where he had thrown it into a hole made in the ice; that returning then to the fort he had found the father in the chapel making ready to say mass. The wretch asked to speak to him, but the father put him off till after mass, at which the toolmaker assisted him as usual.

¹Father Dalmas was at Albany in 1693, when he and the surgeon were murdered by the smith. When Captain Michael Grimington took the place from the French in that year, he found the smith in chains, and took him back with him to England.

When mass was over the latter revealed to the father all that had happened, testifying his despair and his fear that the others on their return would put him to death. "That is not what you have most to dread," replied the father, "we are too few in number and have too much need of your services to take your life. If they should, for so doing, propose to put you to death, I promise to oppose it to the utmost. But I exhort you to own the heinousness of your offense in the presence of God, to ask Him to pardon it, and to do penance for it. Be careful to appease God's anger; I will make it my business to appease man's."

The father added that, if he wished, he would go and meet the hunters and endeavour to mollify them and get them to promise not to ill-treat him on their arrival. The toolmaker accepted this offer, appeared relieved, and the father set out. But scarcely had he left the fort than the unhappy man's mind again became disordered, and, becoming despondent, he began to imagine that the father was deceiving him and was only going to find the others to warn them against him.

In this state of mind, he took his axe and gun and pursued the father. Perceiving him along the river, he called to him to wait, which the missionary did. As soon as the toolmaker reached the father, he accused him of treachery and deceit, simultaneously firing his gun at him and wounding him. To escape from the fury of the wretch, the father threw himself on a large ice-floe. The toolmaker leaped after him and cut his head in pieces with his axe, casting the body under the very piece of ice on which the father had taken refuge; then he returned to the fort where the five others arrived soon after. So much the unhappy man confessed of his own

accord when in irons.

It had been decided to keep him in that manner till the arrival of the next ships on which they were to place him, but, before any relief could come, the English attacked the fort. The garrison had taken the precaution of keeping all the cannon and muskets loaded and, consequently, were able to make a furious fire on the enemy when they tried to draw near. This cannonade killed and wounded many and led the English to believe that there were still many men in the fort and to retreat temporarily for reinforcements. They returned, indeed, prepared to attack the place in military array. The five Frenchmen who guarded it, being in no condition to offer resistance, escaped at night at an embrasure of the cannon and gained the woods, leaving the toolmaker alone and in irons, just as he was. It has never been ascertained what the English did with him nor what the toolmaker said to them. Of the five persons who escaped from the fort, three died on the way and only two, after much hardship, reached Montreal. From them was learned what I have just related.

The fate of Father Dalmas did not prevent Father Silvy¹ from returning some time afterward to Hudson Bay in the same capacity of chaplain, but with the further object of opening a way to go to preach the gospel to

¹Father Silvy sailed from Quebec with M. de la Martinière in 1684, arriving in the mouth of Hayes river on September 22. Here the party wintered and in 1685 they returned to Quebec where they arrived on October 1. Silvy's own account of this expedition is given on pages 37-101. On arrival in Quebec he found that an overland expedition was being organized to attack the English forts on James bay. In March, 1686, he started northward up the Ottawa river to the bay, where he remained till 1693, when he returned to Quebec, leaving Father Dalmas to carry on his work at Albany. He never afterwards returned to Hudson Bay.

the most northern natives who to this day have been without instruction. This father became so ill there that he was obliged to take ship again and return to Quebec, where he has never quite recovered from the ailments which he contracted at the bay. I was assigned to the same duty when I arrived in Canada, and I will not dissemble from you that it was against my inclination. My design when I left France was to devote myself as soon as possible to the service of the Indians, and I saw myself, by this turn of events, somewhat side-tracked.

The late M. d'Iberville, one of the bravest commanders we have had in New France, was ordered to seize several posts that the English were in possession of in Hudson Bay. To that intent, two war-ships had been fitted out, the *Poli*, on which he was to embark, and the *Salamandre* commanded by M. de Serigny. He asked our father superior for a missionary capable of serving as chaplain to both ships. The father pitched upon me, apparently because, being a new comer and knowing nothing of the Indian language, I was the least useful in Canada.

We embarked, then, on August 10th, 1694, and came to anchor about midnight near the traverse of Cape Tourmente, which is but eight leagues from Quebec and called Tourmente because, if there is never so little wind, the water there is as boisterous as the sea. We doubled the cape on the 11th between seven and eight in the morning. We made little progress the rest of the day, nor the three following days, because the wind was contrary. I took advantage of this leisure to persuade a good portion of our crew to a fitting celebration of the feast of the Blessed Virgin. On the 14th, I distributed

in the *Poli* the images of our Lady which Mme de Champigny, the wife of the intendant of Canada, had given me at Quebec, and spent the whole evening and the next morning hearing confessions. Many received communion on the day of the feast. As I finished mass, the wind changed and we set sail at once. On the 20th, the wind died quite down and I proceeded from the *Poli* to the *Salamandre* in order to see M. de Serigny and to say mass on his ship. The crew were very pleased and many took advantage of the opportunity to partake of the sacraments.

On the 21st we passed Belle Isle. This island, which appears round in form is in latitude 52° and is two hundred and twenty leagues from Quebec, in the middle of the strait which the island of Newfoundland forms with the mainland of Labrador. We now began to catch sight of those huge icebergs which float in the sea. We saw perhaps a score. In the distance they looked like mountains of crystal, and some like rocks full of sharp, jutting-out points. On the 23rd, a perfectly calm morning was followed in the afternoon by a violent head wind which continued on the 24th and the 25th. The two following days were perfectly calm and this was as little help to us as the contrary wind. The season was advanced; we were going to a country where the winter anticipates autumn, we were only in latitude 56° , we had still a long run through a sea, dangerous by reason of the great floes of ice usually met with there, amidst which we were to make our way to latitude 63° .

On the 28th at eight o'clock in the evening, a gentle wind rose astern and enabled us to make good headway during the two or three days it lasted. On the 31st, the wind shifted a little, although it continued favour-

able, but it brought up a dense fog which hindered us from seeing the land, which we judged ourselves to be near, as we really were. At midday the weather cleared and we easily saw the coast, bordered with a great number of rocks called sugar loaves from their shape; they were already completely covered with snow. In the evening, we sighted the entrance to the strait that leads to Hudson Bay.

This strait, called North channel or strait, is very difficult to pass because of the ice, which is continually moving from the cold regions through this channel to the open sea. The shores of the strait run ordinarily west north-west and east south-east. At the beginning and at the end of the strait, there are islands situated on the south coast. Those at the entrance, towards the European side, are called the Button islands. They are in latitude 60° , some minutes. Those at the other end of the same strait are called Digges islands. They are about latitude 63° . There are also many islands along the shores and in the middle of the strait, which is a hundred and thirty-five leagues long. Its least breadth is about seven or eight leagues, but generally it is wider. Large bays are seen from time to time especially near the Button islands. There is one much larger than the others, by which some think that there is a way to the lower end of Hudson Bay but this is very doubtful.

Ships are sometimes a long while in passing through the strait; we were lucky to do so in four days. We entered at four in the morning of September 1, and went out again on the 5th, also in the morning, with a wind which was not too favourable and blew much harder on the 6th. The 7th was calm and gave over

fifty persons an opportunity to perform their devotions on the following day, the feast of the nativity of the Blessed Virgin.

The calm continued the 8th, 9th, and 10th which caused all the crew much uneasiness. I exhorted our Canadians to implore the protection of St. Anne, who is regarded as the patron saint of the country and whom the Canadians honour with much reverence. My proposal was joyfully received, and we promised to have public prayers in honour of the saint every morning and evening. The next night the wind favoured us.

On the 12th, we discovered the northland but below the place to which we wished to go. The wind again became contrary and we tacked in vain for several days and were obliged to cast anchor. In the meantime, we began to suffer much. The cold increased and water failed. In this extremity our Canadians came to me and proposed to make a vow to St. Anne, and promised to consecrate in her honour a portion of the first profits which they should make in the country. I approved their design but only after mentioning it to M. d'Iberville. I warned them at the same time to work at their sanctification because it was purity of life that made vows acceptable to God. The majority took my advice and approached the sacraments. Next day, the sailors wished to follow the example of the Canadians and take the same vows as they. M. d'Iberville and the other officers took the lead. The next night, that between September 21 and 22, it pleased God to give us a fair wind.

On the 24th at six o'clock in the evening, we entered Bourbon river. All the crew were extremely rejoiced. It was Friday. We sang the hymn, "*Vexilla regis*", and especially the "*O crux ave*", which we repeated

several times to do honour to the adorable cross of the Saviour, in a country where it is unknown to the aborigines, and where it has been so often profaned by heretics, who have thrown down with derision all the crosses which our Frenchmen formerly raised. The river to which the French have given the name Bourbon is called by the English Port Nelson river, for which reason many Frenchmen also call the surrounding country the Port Nelson region. This river is big and broad and extends far inland but, as there are many rapids on it, it is less suitable for Indian trade. For this reason, the English did not build their fort on its banks.

South-east of Bourbon river, but in the same bay, another big river discharges which the French call Ste. Thérèse, because the wife of the discoverer bore the name of this saint.

These two rivers are only separated by a low-lying tongue of land which is the cause of very extensive shoals in both of them. Their mouths are in latitude 57° some minutes. They both run towards the same point of the compass and, for a long distance, their channels are only from one to two leagues apart. The shallows, which these two rivers are full of, make them dangerous for big ships. As there are fewer shallows in Bourbon river, it was decided to winter the *Poli* in this river and the *Salamandre* in Ste. Thérèse river, on whose banks the English have built their fort on the tongue of land which separates the two rivers.

As has been said, we reached Bourbon river on September 24 at six o'clock in the evening. This very night some of our men were landed for the purpose of endeavouring to surprise some of the English. The

shallow water made it difficult to get ashore. Wading had to be resorted to, which was very disagreeable as the water along the river banks was already frozen. An Iroquois Indian, whom I had been told to baptize, was among those sent ashore. Considering the dangers he was going to be exposed to, I felt it my duty not to defer his baptism any longer. I had put it off thus far that he might be better instructed. One of our Canadians, who speaks the Iroquois language perfectly, was very serviceable to me in instructing him. Those whom we sent ashore were unable to surprise any of the Englishmen, because our arrival had been observed and they had immediately retired within the fort; but, on the 25th, the landing party brought us two Indians whom they had taken prisoners near the fort.¹

M. d'Iberville had gone the same day to sound the river and seek a place to shelter our ship for the winter. He found a very suitable one. After visiting the landing party and giving them their orders, he asked M. de Serigny to take the *Poli* to the selected place and, on the 27th, went to the *Salamandre*, whither I followed him.

The same day in the evening, we reached the mouth of Ste. Thérèse river. On entering it, we did not omit to place ourselves under the protection of this great saint. M. d'Iberville set out towards midnight to sound this second river. On the 28th, we advanced a league and a half in the river with the aid of the tide, the wind being against us. We spent the rest of the day taking

¹The only English account that we have of this capture of York Factory was written by Henry Kelsey, who was then at the factory in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, under Governor Walsh. This account is given in full in the introduction, pp. 22-24.

soundings all about. Again, on the 29th, we made nearly a league and M. d'Iberville landed to select a camp and a place to beach the ship. He found one to his liking half a league above the fort. A great point of fairly high land which juts out into the river forms a sort of cove where the ship would be safe from the pressure of the ice, which is much dreaded in spring. Our men who were on shore were ordered to encamp here. There were not above twenty of them, but the natives of the country told the English they were forty or fifty in number, which kept the English from going out of the fort.

On the 30th, we could not possibly advance and were in the same condition on October 1. With head winds continually, we ran aground at every low tide, and found it impossible to tack. Meanwhile the wind, the cold, and the ice increased every day. We were a league from our landing-place and in danger of never reaching it. Our crew became alarmed at the situation. I exhorted them to have recourse to the protection of God who had not yet failed on the voyage. The same vow was taken on the *Salamandre* as had been taken on the *Poli*, and this very day the wind came about fair for us.

At eight o'clock in the evening, we weighed anchor in bright moonlight. And, with the help of the tide, our boat, manned with sixteen oarsmen, took the ship in tow and brought it within musket-shot of the desired haven, but we could not reach it because the tide failed us. As we passed the fort, three or four cannon-balls were fired at us but did not reach us. Our Canadians' only reply was with *Sassa Koués*, the shouts of rejoicing they use in war, which we call huzzas.

On the 2nd, our ship was almost lost. As we were weighing anchor, in the hope of soon reaching the port which we were touching, so to speak, a great blizzard with snow hid the earth from us and a great north-west wind threw us on a shoal on which we grounded though it was high water. There we had a dismal night. At ten o'clock in the evening, the ice, carried by the currents and driven by the winds, began to dash against our ship with frightful violence and with noise which could have been heard a league off; the tumult lasted four or five hours. The ice beat the ship so violently that it pierced the planks and broke off as much as three or four inches in several places. To lighten the ship M. d'Iberville ordered twelve pieces of cannon to be thrown on the shoal, as well as various other things which would not be lost or spoiled in the water. He then ordered the guns to be covered with sand for fear they should be carried away in the spring by the force of the ice.

On the 3rd, the wind subsided a little and M. d'Iberville set about unloading his ship which was still in danger of being wrecked. We could not use the long boat for this purpose because it was impossible to carry it across the ice which came down in great quantities, but we used bark canoes brought from Quebec, which our Canadians guided through the ice with wonderful dexterity.

I was indisposed for several days and had even a touch of fever. M. d'Iberville urged me to go ashore but I could not bring myself to leave the ship while it was in such peril and while the crew were in such consternation. I was obliged to land by the sad news soon brought us. M. de Châteauguay, a young officer nineteen years of age, M. d'Iberville's brother,

had gone to skirmish at the English fort to divert their attention and to keep them from learning the difficulties we were in. Approaching too near it, he was wounded by a ball which pierced him through. He desired I would come to hear his confession, and I went at once. We thought at first the wound was not mortal. We were soon undeceived for he died the next day.

Only a moment before, we had heard of the *Poli* and were informed that she was in no less danger than ours. Wind, ice, and shoals had all been against her. Once when she had run aground, a great piece of the keel had been carried away. Four pumps were insufficient to empty the water which poured in. Several barrels of powder got wet in the unloading of the vessel. She had not reached where it was intended that she should winter and there was danger that she could not be taken there.

All these depressing accounts did not discourage M. d'Iberville. He was very much affected by the death of his brother whom he had always loved tenderly, but he resigned himself to God in whom he placed all his confidence. Foreseeing that the least sign of uneasiness in his countenance would put all his men into consternation, he still bore up with wonderful resolution, setting all the men to work, acting himself and giving orders with as much presence of mind as ever. God comforted him the same day, for the same tide moved both the ships out of danger and conveyed them to the places appointed for them to winter.

On the 5th, I baptized two Indian children who had been ailing for a long time and whom I judged to be in danger. I was the more hasty because the Indians were to set out the next day to winter in the woods at a great

distance from us. Before baptizing them, I made their father promise that, if they recovered, he would bring them to me in the spring for instruction. They were children of the same father but of different mothers, polygamy being common among the Indians of this country. One of them died and the father brought the other to me in the following spring as he had promised. We next busied ourselves building huts, unloading the ship, and getting all ready for the siege.

On the 9th, I set out to join the *Poli* where M. de Tilly, lieutenant, had been dangerously ill for some days. This was my first journey in the woods of America. Our way lay over very marshy ground. We were obliged to make long detours to avoid swamps. The water had begun to freeze but the ice was not thick enough to bear us. We plunged in often half way up our legs. We made five leagues in this fashion over the snow and in the woods, if, indeed, this term can be used, for there is no clear timber in this country but only brush and small spruce trees, which grow thick enough in some places but in others are interspersed with many open meadows.

When we reached the bank of Bourbon river we were much perplexed. The ship was on the other side. The river in this place is a league and a half wide. It is very rapid and was full of floating ice at the time. My companions were of the opinion that we could not cross. I had trouble in overcoming their opposition, but shortly afterwards the river became clear, the ice having floated away with the ebbing tide. We embarked at once after carrying our canoe across the ice which was along the bank. We started at sunset and got safe aboard just at nightfall.

We found the ship in a safe and convenient place. The crew were beginning to recover from the fatigue that they had lately gone through. I went to see the sick man and consoled him, and the following day I confessed him and gave him the holy viaticum.¹ I went in the afternoon to visit our Canadians and our sailors, who were living in huts on the shore. On my return, I was advised that the river was passable and I embarked at once, having promised to return immediately because of the attack on the fort. We reached the other bank very late and made a shelter to pass the night. We built it rather carelessly as the sky looked very serene. We repented, for we were exposed to a snow-storm for three hours.

On the 11th, we reached our camp where everything was well under way for the siege. A good road had been made through the wood to transport cannon, mortars, and bombs. On the 12th, we placed the mortars in position. On the 13th, when all was ready to open fire, we sent a summons to the enemy to surrender, offering them good terms if they surrendered immediately. They asked till the following morning at eight o'clock to return their answer, and begged us to leave them undisturbed that night within the fort, a request which was granted. The following morning at the appointed hour, they sent out their articles. We had no difficulty in subscribing to them, for they demanded neither their arms nor their flag. Their minister had drawn up the capitulation in Latin and I was interpreter on our side. They had been in a fright ever since our arrival and had all the while kept close indoors, without daring to go out even at

¹Holy Communion administered to persons in danger of death.

night to fetch water from the river which washes the foot of the fort.¹

M. d'Iberville the same day sent M. du Tas, his lieutenant, with sixty men to take possession of the fort. He went himself next day, which was St. Teresa's Day and gave it the name of Fort Bourbon. I said mass there the same day and we sang "Te Deum." It is only a wooden fort, weaker and smaller than we had believed. The booty found in it was also less considerable than had been expected. The English garrison numbered fifty-three, all fairly lusty, able men. Their commander was better skilled in trade than in martial affairs, having never been a soldier, which was the cause of his surrendering so easily. We wondered at the marvellous way Divine Providence had favoured us. On entering Ste. Thérèse river, we had confidently invoked the great saint whose name the river bears, and God so arranged things that, exactly on the feast day of the same saint, we should enter the fort and become masters of the navigation and trade of this great river.

That same day I thought fit to return and see M. de Tilly whom I had left very ill. I set out, then, after dinner and, coming to the bank of Bourbon river, found it impassable. We built shelters and stayed there all night. Next day the river being in no better condition, we made great smokes on the bank which was the signal agreed on to give notice to the *Poli* that the fort had been captured. Similar signals answered us and we returned to the fort. Three days after, that is, on October 18, I joined M. de Caumont, brother of M. de Tilly, two others of his relatives, and another Canadian to try to go together to the *Poli*. We found the river

¹The water in Hayes river is quite fresh in front of York Factory.

still bad and next day it was no better. Nevertheless, we ventured to cross it. This was not accomplished without running much risk, but at last we arrived safely. I did not leave the sick man till the 28th, which was the day he died. After the funeral, I wished to return to the fort to celebrate the feast of All Saints' Day, but it was impossible to cross the river before All Souls' Day.¹ The evening of this day we got lost in the woods and, after walking a long time, found ourselves back almost at our starting point. We spent the night there and only reached the fort on November 3. I often made these little journeys afterwards, for outbreaks of sickness and scurvy among our crews kept me coming and going from the fort to the *Poli* in order to be of assistance to all the sick. I myself had several attacks of scurvy. The exercise I received in my goings to and fro to succour those in danger dispelled, as I believe, the disease in its early stages.

Ste. Thérèse river was entirely frozen over in the month of October, three or four leagues above the fort where there are islands which make the channel narrower, but we did not begin to cross opposite the fort till November 13. Bourbon river did not freeze up till the night between January 23 and 24, 1695. From that time forward, we crossed on the ice to go to the *Poli*, which shortened our road very much. The ice began to break up in Ste. Thérèse river on May 30, but only on June 11 in Bourbon river. On July 30, we embarked to go with our two ships to an anchorage at the mouth of Ste. Thérèse river and await there the English ships, which usually come about this time. But we waited in vain, for they never appeared.

¹All Saints' Day is Nov. 1 and All Souls' Day Nov. 2.

I had resolved at my first arrival to learn the language of the Indians. For this purpose, I wished to make use of the services of two of them who had remained in a cabin near the fort, but my frequent trips from one river to the other prevented me from doing so. Besides, the man was a slave from another nation and only knew the language imperfectly. His wife, who hated the French, only spoke to me by caprice and often deceived me. Still my visits to them had at least one good effect. I had gained the confidence of the poor man and began to instruct him as best I could. He fell sick. He asked me to baptize him and I had the consolation of doing so before he died. Let me now narrate what I have been able to learn concerning the Indians of that country.

There are seven or eight different nations who have dealings with the fort and well-nigh three hundred or more of their canoes came to trade this year, 1695. The most distant, the most numerous, and the most important are the Assiniboines and the Crees or, as they are otherwise known, the Kiristinnons, and it is only necessary to learn the languages of these two nations. The language of the Crees, which is Algonkian, and that of the Indians in the neighbourhood of the fort is the same except for several words and a slight difference in accent. The language of the Assiniboines is very different from that of the Crees. It is the same as that of the Sioux among whom my brother has made two journeys. It is even contended that the Assiniboines are a Sioux nation long separated from the parent nation and making war on it continually ever since. The Crees and Assiniboines are allies. They have the same enemies and carry on the same wars. Some Assiniboines speak Cree and some Crees Assiniboine. The Crees are numerous and their

country is much the larger. They reach nearly to Lake Superior whither some go to trade. I have seen some who have been at Sault Ste. Marie and at Michillimackinac; I have even met some who have been as far as Montreal. Bourbon river goes as far as the lake of the Crees, which is twenty or twenty-five days' journey from the fort. The Assinibouines are thirty-five or forty days' journey from the fort.

These Indians are of good physique. They are tall, robust, alert, and inured to cold and fatigue. The Assinibouines have large drawings on the body representing serpents, birds, and various other figures which they print by pricking the skin with little, sharp bones and filling up the holes with wet charcoal dust. They are sedate and seem to be phlegmatic. The Crees are more sprightly, always in motion, always dancing or singing. Both are brave and love war. The Assinibouines have been compared with the Flemings and the Crees with the Gascons. Their dispositions, indeed, bear some resemblance to those of these two nations. These Indians have no villages nor fixed dwelling. They are always wandering and moving from place to place, living upon what they kill. In the summer, they assemble on the lakes where they remain two or three months, and then they go to harvest wild oats with which they stock their larder.

The Indians nearest to the fort live altogether by hunting. They range the woods continually without stopping anywhere, winter or summer, except when the chase is good, for then they build camps there and remain till they have no more to eat. Through lack of foresight, they are often compelled to go three or four days without food. Like the others they are inured to the cold and

accustomed to fatigue, but in other respects they are cowardly, timorous, idle, stupid, and absolutely vicious.

As to the religion which they profess, I believe that it is the same as that of the other Indians, but cannot particularly say wherein their idolatry consists. I have been informed that they have some sort of sacrifices. They are great jugglers and have, as well as others, the use of the pipe which they call calumet. They smoke to the sun and to absent persons and have smoked to our fort and our ship, yet I cannot speak with any certainty of the ideas which they may have of the Divinity, not having been able to get to the bottom of this question. I shall only add that they are extremely superstitious and very debauched and that they live in polygamy and in ignorance of the Christian religion.

By this you see, my reverent father, that it will be very difficult to establish Christianity among these people. I believe that, if progress may be made, we must begin with the Crees and Assiniboinés. These Indians, besides being greater in numbers, seem to me not so irreligious. They have more sense and they are at least sedentary for three or four months, so that a mission can be more easily formed in their country. Not that I do not see the difficulties that we should meet in establishing a mission there. I do not know if our first fathers had as many in their first missions in Canada as these promise. But this prospect is not one that should dismay us. God will take care of us and I hope that the more difficult these missions will be, the more missionaries will offer themselves to serve God in them.

It still remains for me, my reverent father, to give you an account of the climate and seasons in this country. As I have said before, the fort is near latitude 57° and

situated at the mouth of two beautiful rivers. But the soil there is very barren. The country is marshy with many wet meadows. There is little wood and what there is, is very stunted. Within thirty or forty leagues of the fort there is no heavy timber. That is caused, no doubt, by the violent sea winds which are usually blowing, the great cold, and the almost continual snows. The cold begins in the month of September and is then severe enough to fill the rivers with ice and sometimes to freeze them quite over. The ice lasts till about the month of June, but the cold does not cease even then. It is true that, during that time, there are very hot days but not for long (for there is little intermediate between great heat and great cold). The north winds, which are frequent, soon dispel this early heat and often, after perspiring in the morning, you are frozen in the evening. The snow lies on the ground eight or nine months but it is not very deep. The greatest depth this winter has been two or three feet.

The long winter, although it is always cold, is not, however, equally so at all times. There are often, in truth, excessively cold days on which one does not venture out of doors without paying for it. There are few of us who have not borne the marks of this extreme weather; and, among others, a sailor lost both his ears, but there are also fine days. What especially pleases me is the absence of rain and that, after a snow-storm or blizzard (or *poudrerie*, as a fine snow which penetrates everywhere is called), the air is pure and clear. If I had to choose between winter and summer in this country I do not know which I should prefer, for, in summer, besides the scorching heat, the frequent changes from extreme heat to extreme cold, and the rarity of three

fine days on end, there are so many mosquitoes or black flies as to make it impossible to go out of doors without being covered and stung on all sides. These flies are more numerous here and stronger than in Canada. Add that the woods are full of water and that there is no going far into them without going up to the waist.

Although the country be such as I have described, that does not hinder men from living well enough in it. The rivers are full of fish and game is abundant. All winter long there is abundance of partridges of which we killed at least twenty thousand. In spring and autumn, there are also found a prodigious number of wavys, Canada geese, ducks, brants, and other river birds. But the best hunting is that of the caribou; it lasts all the year; but especially in the spring and autumn, there are herds of three or four hundred or upwards at a time together. M. de Serigny told us that on All Saints' Day and on All Souls' Day more than ten thousand passed by in sight of the huts occupied by the crew of the *Poli*, on the other side of Bourbon river. The caribou somewhat resembles our fallow deer, except for the horns. The first time the seamen saw them, they were afraid and ran away. Our Canadians killed several and the sailors, having been jeered at by those Canadians, took heart and also killed some afterwards. Thus God provides for these Indians. Though their soil is barren, God furnishes their food in such a quantity of game and gives them peculiar skill to kill it.

In addition to the nations who come to Ste. Thérèse river to trade, there are still others whose home is farther north, in an even colder climate than this, such as the Ikovirinioucks,¹ who are about a hundred leagues from

¹I do not know to what tribe this name applies.

here. But they are at war with the Indians of this country and do not trade with the fort. Farther off, the Eskimos are to be found, and alongside the Ikovirinioucks a great nation allied to them called the Alimouspigut.¹ They are a populous nation. They have villages and extend down to the Assiniboines with whom they are almost always at war.

I do not yet speak the language of the Indians fluently but none have come to the fort to whom I have not spoken of God. It was a pleasure to me to make Him known to these poor people who had never heard of Him. Many listened to me gladly. They knew, at least, that I had come on a different errand from the other Frenchmen. I told them that I would go to their country in order to acquaint them with the God whom I worshipped. They expressed their delight and invited me to do so. I still find it more difficult to understand the Indian tongue than to speak it. I already know the majority of the words. M. de la Motte gave me many and an Englishman, who knows the language very well, has given me many more. I have made a dictionary of all these words, according to our alphabet and, if I were but a short time among the Indians, I believe I could speak and understand their language with ease. I have translated the Sign of the Cross, the Lord's Prayer, "Ave Maria", the Creed, and the Commandments into it. I have baptized only two adult Indians, who died immediately afterwards. I have also baptized three children, two of whom have gone to Heaven, and, if

¹Alimouspiguts or Dog Ribs, a tribe of the Athapaskan family, who live in the vicinity of Great Bear lake; perhaps here used as a general name for all the Chipewyans with whom the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company had come in contact.

I had been able to go among the people, I would have converted more.

Our two ships set sail for home at the beginning of September, 1695. And it being likely that they would go direct to France, I preferred to remain in the fort with the eighty men left to garrison it who, besides, had no chaplain. I did believe that, having more leisure after the departure of the ships, I could complete my knowledge of the language of the Indians and fit myself to begin a mission among them. God has not deemed me worthy. The English came and besieged us and took us prisoners. The details I related to you when I recrossed to France, as well as the story of our imprisonment. It would be useless to repeat it to you here. I am in the participation of your holy sacrifices,

GABRIEL MAREST, Missionnaire

NARRATIVE III

LETTERS OF LA POTHERIE

Describing the expedition to Fort Nelson on Hudson Bay in the extremity of America, the first French settlement in this vast region, the capture of Fort Nelson, the river St. Lawrence, and the government of Quebec, of Three Rivers, and of Montreal from 1534 to 1701, being the first volume of the *History of North America* by M. de Bacqueville de la Potherie (Paris, 1753). Translated into English by David R. Keys, M.A., Professor Emeritus of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Toronto



FRONTISPIECE OF BACQUÉVILLE DE LA POTHERIE,
HISTOIRE DE L'AMÉRIQUE SEPTENTRIONALE
(PARIS, 1753), VOLUME I

NARRATIVE III

LETTERS OF LA POTHERIE TO MONSEIGNEUR THE DUKE OF ORLEANS, REGENT OF THE KINGDOM

Monseigneur,

THE expedition to Hudson Bay, which I have the honour to present to Your Royal Highness, and which Your Highness has been pleased to accept, is one of the most singular which has yet appeared: Your Highness will find in it nothing but storms, battles, and ship-wrecks.

The royal squadron, fitted out for this enterprise in 1697, has had to contend not so much with the savages who inhabit this extreme northern part of America as with waves, storms, ice, sand banks, and mountains of snow. It was here that the French showed their full courage and triumphed over the most terrible obstacles that nature could present to the most famous heroes. In fact, to arrive in Hudson Bay we had to pass through a great sea rendered inaccessible, even in the dogdays of summer, by currents, sand banks, continued storms, and icebergs. These difficulties, insuperable by any other people, served only to excite the valour of the French, who, like the heroes that govern them, find nothing that can repel their attack.

What a joy it is for the members of this expedition to see their country again after passing through such

perils, and to hear that Your Royal Highness has been pleased to listen to their tale! No one can better appreciate the extraordinary deeds recorded in these narratives than those who have themselves performed heroic deeds. Wherefore I am in duty bound to dedicate to Your Royal Highness this work, which having been written by the *Sieur de la Potherie*, the King's commissioner in the fleet, who took part in all the expeditions described in it, cannot be suspected of being untrue.

I might here dilate upon the heroic virtues which so redound to the glory of Your Royal Highness, but it is not fitting for me, an American, to venture on so lofty a task; I would rather leave the discussion of so exalted a theme to the more skilful pen of Frenchmen. Too fortunate I am if my zeal and profound respect are not displeasing to Your Royal Highness, of whom I am, *Monseigneur*,

the very humble and most obedient servant,
DE LA POTHERIE

PREFACE

WE feel constrained to present to the public this new account of Hudson Bay. The story of navigators, especially of those in the King's service, should not end, like those of so many travellers, in the vain delight of giving long tales of their voyages, often disfigured by endless exaggerations, to their kinsfolk and friends.

Let such people take this method of adding to the interest of their travels; we need not follow their example. On the contrary, in this narrative our aim is to instruct rather than to give pleasure. There is nothing told that

is not exactly true. Everything said about icebergs, lands, anchorages, and winds is the pure truth; just what we experienced in the most terrible tempests without any change or addition to deceive the reader. The matter is of too great consequence, and it is contrary to the good faith of an author to deceive by shameful untruths a public which trusts and confides in his writings.

In this work we have nothing to reproach ourselves with, as we have sincerely reported the various dangers that the fleet underwent during its painful and laborious voyage, after its arrival in Hudson Bay, in the far north of America, and in its difficult passages through ice-fields before the capture of Fort Nelson by the French.

The reader will easily observe that, in the battles by land and sea, no one has been either flattered or blamed; justice has been done to everybody indifferently without predilection or prejudice. We also hope that no one will complain, and that the public will be satisfied with a frankness uncommon among historians, who too often go to extremes in their narratives since they know that the public cannot easily discover their lies because of the remoteness of the places which they are describing. Not so with the present history: everyone will be seen as he is and as he appeared on the occasions where he was present. In fine, we have followed with the utmost fidelity the two canons of history, which are: to say nothing that is false and to conceal nothing that is true.

Nec falsa dicere, nec vera reticere.

We are free to admit that the narrative will appear at first rather dry, and the reader will not fail to repeat the remark of one of the masters of this style of writing, that we cannot make our narrations too interesting, and that they must have some gaiety or they will tire the

reader. All this may be true, but our opinion will soon change if we reflect that all subjects cannot be thus enlivened, and that there are some which must give serious instruction. The present narrative is of the latter type; our sole purpose is to inform the public of the discoveries that have been made in this region which is little known, since this squadron is the first that has penetrated so far into the interior of North America.

After all, it would not have been difficult to give a touch of liveliness and gaiety if necessary, and if it had been a mistake to relate the events naturally and simply. But battles and ship-wrecks are too sad and too terrible to be treated in a gay and joyous fashion, so we have not held as an indispensable law this opinion of the master of the art, especially in a history in which we have to deal with precipices hidden under banks of snow, with mountains of ice, with shoals of sand, with frightful rocks, with inhuman savages, and with all that can terrify the most intrepid and of which the mere recollection, after having made our escape from it, is too vivid and too unpleasant to bear such adornments.

Royal Authority to print

LOUIS by the grace of God, King of France and of Navarre, to our beloved and loyal counsellors, the members of the parliamentary courts, the members of the council of state of our court, the grand council, the provost of Paris, magistrates, seneschals, their civil lieutenants, and all other officers of justice to whom it may concern: Greeting. Our well-beloved François Didot, publisher of Paris, having made known to us that he would fain continue the printing of a work entitled *History of North America*, but fearing lest other

printers or publishers might wish to print, sell, or issue it, which would cause him no small loss, has, therefore, made humble petition to us to be good enough to grant him our letters of privilege necessary in such a case. For which reasons desiring to give favourable treatment to the said petitioner, we have permitted and do hereby permit him, by these presents, to have the said book printed with such form, margin, characters, and in one or several volumes, conjointly or separately, and as many times as may seem good to him; and to sell it or have it sold or issued throughout our kingdom during a period of eight years consecutively, counting from the day of the date of the said presents; and forbidding all kinds of persons, of whatever quality or condition they may be, to introduce any foreign impression of them into any place under our rule. Forbidding also all book-seller-printers and others to print, or have printed, sell or have sold or issued or reproduced the said book in whole or in part, or to make any extracts therefrom under any pretext of augmenting, correcting, changing the title or otherwise, without the express permission of the said petitioner, given in writing, or of those who may have rights from him, on pain of confiscation of such copies with a fine of 1,500 livres for every such offence, whereof one third shall go to us, one third to the Hôtel-Dieu Hospital of Paris, the other third to the said petitioner and all costs, damage, and interest; and we charge that these presents shall be inscribed at full length on the register of the Society of Booksellers and Printers of Paris and that within three months of this date: that the printing of this book shall be done in our kingdom and not elsewhere, on good paper and in good type conforming to the rules of the booksellers: and

further, that, before it is exposed for sale, the manuscript or impression, which shall have served as copy for the printing of the said book, shall be sent back in the same state in which it shall have been approved into the hands of our very dear and loyal chevalier, the Sieur Daguesseau, chancellor of France; and that there shall afterwards be sent two copies to our public library, one to the library of the Louvre, and one to that of our very dear and loyal chevalier, Sieur Daguesseau, the chancellor of France; all on pain of nullifying these presents. The contents whereof we command and enjoin you to make known to the petitioner or his assigns fully and peaceably, without causing them any trouble or hindrance: We wish that the copy of these presents, which shall be printed in full at the beginning or at the end of the said book, shall be held as of full authority, and that to the copies collated by one of our well-beloved and loyal councillors and secretaries the same faith shall be given as to the original. We command our chief usher or sergeant to perform for the execution of these presents all acts requisite and necessary, without asking any further permission and notwithstanding any cry of *Haro*, Norman charter, or letters contrary to this. FOR such is our pleasure. GIVEN at Paris, the second day of the month of May, the year of grace 1721, and of our reign the sixth. By the King in his council. CARPOT

Registered on register 4 of the Society of Booksellers and Printers of Paris, page 734, number 794, in conformity with the regulation and particularly with the decree of council of August 23, 1703.

Paris, May 26, 1721.

Signed, DELAULNE, Syndic.

The said Sieur Didot has associated in the present privilege the Sieurs Jean-Luc Nion, bookseller of Paris, and Jean Baptiste Machuel, Senior, bookseller and printer at Rouen, to make common use of the privilege according to the arrangement between them,

HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA

LETTER I

*The Departure from La Rochelle. Events during the voyage.
Description of Placentia in Newfoundland and its Trade.*

Sir,

IF you had not permitted me to give you an account of a part of my journey to North America, I should not have ventured to take that liberty. In fact, what could I have told you that you did not know far better than I who, having been but rarely in storms, have come here to tell of them to you, Sir, who have endured others far fiercer and more dreadful, and have endured them with such courage and surmounted them with such wisdom and skill? I confess that the longer I reflect on your permission the more I find it indiscreet in me to act upon it; but please remember that you granted it to me.

Hence I will begin my narrative by the statement that the King's vessels, the *Pelican*, the *Palmier*, the *Weesph*, the *Profond*, and the *Violent* were at Chef de Baye in the roadstead of La Rochelle ready to set sail, when I received an order from His Majesty to embark as a commissary in the company of the fleet.

I settled my affairs in a couple of days and embarked on the *Pelican*. As I had not taken part in the equipment

of the vessels, I wished to make a review and get a general idea of the fleet before our departure. I did so on Easter day, which was April 7, 1697, and we set sail the next day at four in the morning with an east wind.

Serigny, the naval lieutenant on board the *Palmier*, was acting as commandant in the absence of his brother, Captain d'Iberville, whom we were to take on at Placentia for the attack on the English forts of Hudson Bay, north of Canada.

The Marquis de Château Morand, ship's captain, the nephew of Marshal de Tourville, who was on his way to the islands of America with several merchant vessels, convoyed us until the 11th of the month to within twenty or twenty-five miles of Cape Finisterre where we separated.

We had favouring east winds for nine days and, had they continued, we should have reached Placentia in a few days, but, on the 21st, they changed with a heavy fog and a cold as severe as in January, and they began to be contrary with very thick fogs so that the sea rose, making it almost impossible to proceed.

But for the muskets and the cannon, which we kept firing from time to time for twenty-one days, we should not have been able to keep together. We could truthfully say that we had fallen back from spring into the depths of winter, and we had great cause to fear shipwreck, so difficult is navigation in those seas. We very soon had experience of the violence of the wind, for, on the 25th of the same month, the *Weesph*, under command of Ensign Charrier, lost her two topsails, and, on the next day about four in the afternoon, the *Pelican* gave chase with a south-south-west wind to an English corvette of fourteen guns. We were already within a

short distance of her, and our crews were beginning to rejoice in the prospect of making her a prize when our joy was dissipated by a violent snow-storm which came up suddenly.

In fact, this dreadful storm had no sooner arisen than all the winds were unloosed and I saw the anxious faces of the crew who were excited by the heavy and confused turmoil of the waves.

The sky grew so dark that we could hardly see or recognize one another.

The vast extent of the sea seemed to form a steep mountain of great height on which we hung. Then, suddenly sliding down, it formed an abyss in which we appeared to be engulfed.

But the waves fell back more quickly than they had risen. In vain we strove to get out of these dreadful abysses when the force of another wave would heave us up to the very clouds where we would seem to hang motionless.

Sometimes the sea would appear like a vast, deep valley between two steep mountains at the feet of which we saw the waves opening up. A moment later, the hollows would be filled up and, the sea continuing its turmoil, the waves would be seen plunging furiously toward the bottom of the sea as though seeking the earth's centre.

This fierce tempest lasted two whole days, during which we endured all imaginable hardship and thought ourselves several times on the point of perishing. But in the end we only lost our main topsail and we thought it a miracle to get off so cheaply. It was also a piece of good fortune for the English corvette which we had been chasing, for, after losing sight of her, we saw her again

half an hour later, scudding before the wind having lost all her masts.

Our fleet was separated until the 27th when we fell in with the *Profond* and, on the evening of the 28th, the *Palmier* came along in a very pitiable condition.

Serigny told us that, on the night between Friday the 26th and Saturday the 27th, the *Palmier* and the *Weesph* had collided; the former had her prow all carried away and her poop and her port anchor broken. She had neither topmast, nor top-gallants, nor bowsprit top, nor spritsail yard left, and her bowsprit was quite dismantled. Nothing was more distressing than this sight and the appearance of the crew who were panic-stricken. In fact the shock of the collision in the darkness had been so violent that, when the *Weesph* rolled over, the guns of the second battery struck her between the keel and the water-line, and the bowsprit, crashing into the mizzen mast, broke it in two. This blow was really fortunate for the *Weesph* as she was thus prevented from going down under sail. At the moment, not seeing her reappear, the officers of the *Palmier* believed for the time being that she had foundered.

When we no longer perceived the *Weesph* returning with the *Palmier*, we asked Serigny if he had not seen her and he told us that he thought he had seen her founder.

When she appeared no more, we did not know what to think, and, wavering between hope and fear, we imagined at one time that she had returned to the Azores and at another that she had been lost in the storm. In this uncertainty we proceeded on our voyage with the other three ships.

Serigny's good seamanship was very useful at this

junction, when, for twenty-six days, we scarcely saw the sun six times. Meanwhile, sickness was breaking out on board from day to day. The scurvy began and became generally prevalent.

Our ill fortune did not end with this, for the wind turned against us.

The pilots no longer knew where they were; there was no means of taking an altitude so that we were all in despair.

Our sole hope was in seeing, at times, great numbers of birds, which led us to suppose that we were not far from the banks of Newfoundland, but we could not reach them.

At last, on May 7, we were on the banks at four in the afternoon.

The pilots found a depth of forty-five fathoms, with a gravelly bottom, blackish, rather putrid, and flat. We hauled down our sails to fish for cod. We caught a large quantity which served to feed our crews. Most of the poultry and sheep which had been put on board for that purpose had died of the cold, or from the battering of the waves, or from sickness, as we have said above.

The *Violent*, under Commander Ensign Bigot, had been in the trough of the sea for some time until the waves had broken some of the staunchions in the hold.

We set sail two hours afterwards with the wind east one point north-east, which scarcely lasted any time till it changed again.

But, in the meantime, we arrived on the *Boulevard*; but the fogs kept growing denser.

After thirteen days of storm, we saw land at four in the afternoon, four leagues to the north-west one point west.

Our pilots were consulted. They thought this might be Cape St. Lawrence on Newfoundland [*sic?*], so we put about to avoid this coast and bore towards the south. We saw land again on the 16th at ten in the morning, but the fogs kept us from coming too near for fear of ship-wreck. We held another consultation, and we sent for the pilot of the *Profond*, who said it was the *Chapeau rouge*¹ of Newfoundland from which we were only six leagues distant at the most.

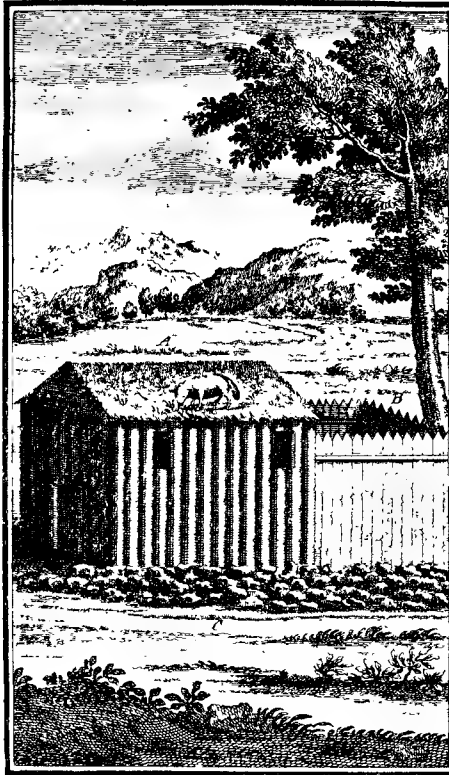
We drew back that night and, on the 17th, the weather clearing and the wind south-west one point south, we saw Cape St. Mary. This is usually the first land seen on entering Placentia bay. It is in latitude 46'' 20 north, fourteen leagues from Placentia.

We entered the bay about seven in the evening, leaving the cape south-south-east about three leagues and a half, after having brailed our lower sail and top-sails. It fell calm about midnight.

The wind freshening on the 18th, we made three tacks after which we anchored about ten in the morning a league from Placentia at the green point, which is inhabited by Frenchmen; and, after so many toils and storms on our voyage, we at length entered the port that same day. The *Weesph* arrived three days later, being as anxious to hear news of the *Palmier* as the *Palmier* had been to hear of her.

The repairs we had to make to these two vessels made it impossible for us to go to Acadia in pursuance of our orders. We had only time to get ready for Hudson Bay which was the main object of our voyage.

¹Red Head is the north point of the peninsula between Trinity and Conception bays.



A Maison sur la quelle un Mouton pait B cour
de la Maison C palete ou pierre

HOUSE IN PLACENTIA

From Bacqueville de la Potherie, *Histoire
de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1753),
Volume I

Fortunately we found M. d'Iberville who, two days after our arrival, was to continue the complete destruction of the English colony established in Newfoundland. But, before telling of these matters, it is time to describe Placentia. The port is one of the finest to be seen both from its natural situation and on account of its fortifications; it is so large that more than one hundred and fifty of the largest men-of-war could be anchored in it.

The entrance is so narrow that only one ship can pass at a time. A pilot when entering does his best to keep in the middle (which, owing to the strong current and the flow of the tide, is no easy matter), and a hawser is carried on the broad beach in order to avoid running on the rocks which border the fort.

Placentia is in a flat country, divided in two by this harbour entrance, one side being called the broad beach, and the other the district of the fort, which is at the foot of a hill one hundred and thirty fathoms high, on which there is a well-fortified redoubt. Nature has made the highlands uninhabitable as they produce nothing but moss and small firs, having only half a foot of soil, but has formed a level region three quarters of a league long called the broad beach, between two steep mountains. The mountain to the south-south-west is separated from the broad beach by a little stream coming from the harbour, which forms a lake called the little bay which is full of salmon. Along this stream are scaffolds forming sheds where they salt codfish. The roofs and walls of these erections are of fir branches, as well as the houses of the inhabitants which form a street. These houses are covered with moss and the sheep often graze upon the herbage which covers them. The broad beach

is a pebbly shore on which they dry the codfish. They call the large, flat stones on this beach *galets*.

As the codfish constitute all the riches of Newfoundland, you will permit me to tell of the way in which they are prepared, which requires the utmost care. I will not repeat the description of a stage nor how it is built; let it suffice to know that it is the place where they prepare the codfish. You will find working there a *Piqueur*, a *Découleur*, a *Trancheur*, and a *Saleur*. It may truly be said of these houses that they constitute all the riches of the inhabitants of this country and resemble perfectly that to which Virgil gives the name of kingdom.

Pauperis et tugurii congestum cespite culmen.

To understand the functions of the employees, you must know that the *Piqueur* [opener] opens the cod.

The *Découleur* [dissector] removes the entrails and the liver and cuts off the head.

The *Trancheur* [cutter] takes out the bony skeleton and slips the cod into an *esquipot*, which is a small, sloping bin.

The *Saleur* [salter] receives it in a barrow which he takes to a place where he salts it in the following manner. He spreads a layer of codfish nine or ten feet long on which he throws some salt, and then, in succession, one layer on top of another to the thickness of three feet. They remain in this condition five or six days to become imbued with the salt. At the end of this time, two men take them down to the sea in a laver, and rub and wash them with a brush to take the salt out of them. Then they heap them together. They remain there two days, and, after St. John's Day [June 29], for one day only, on account of the heat. They are spread out afterwards on the beach with their backs on the flat stones, and

they are turned in the evening. They remain thus till the next day at nine o'clock in the morning. If the weather is fine, they are turned again and afterwards they are removed to be placed *en mouton*, i.e., five or six one on top of the other, tail to head and head to tail. After which, if the weather is fine, they are spread out as I have described and, on the evening of the same day, they are again put *en mouton* for three days and three nights. They are afterwards set up in a pile which resembles the paling of a courtyard, containing at times three hundred quintals. They are taken out of this pile to be replaced on the beach, and, after dinner, they are again placed in a pile for the space of a month in order to make them sweat, without airing them again, that is, without spreading them again on the beach. Afterwards they are loaded on the ships.

The island is well supplied with game. There are caribou, moose, beaver, and foxes; the partridges are very delicate. When hunting in the interior, you carry a compass for there is great risk of not being able to find your way home. There are such quantities of strawberries that they are as common as grass in the woods. For the rest, there are many unpleasant things about this colony.

Two long barks, mounted with four cannons and with crews of thirty men in each, can utterly destroy the beaches of the bay and take away or sink all their *Biscayennes* [boats] when they return from the fisheries. The inhabitants can have no pleasure in life; they have no gardens, as the land is filled with nothing but flat stones on which they dry the cod in the places where there are no pebbles. The soil is a moss in which nothing can grow. There is no grain and no French fruit except straw-

berries, and this scarcity disgusts the inhabitants and makes them prefer Cape Breton. I have often heard them say that if the advantages of Cape Breton island were known at court and if anyone wished to colonize it, all the inhabitants of Placentia would gladly leave that town, if they were permitted, in order to establish themselves on the island of Cape Breton.

As a matter of fact, the latter is a very beautiful island off the coast of Acadia, opposite the southern point of Newfoundland, and it forms the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The soil there is excellent. There are plains, meadows, and forests filled with oaks, maples, cedars, walnuts, and the finest firs in the world, capable of making excellent masts. Saw mills might be built to make the firs and walnut trees into planking for ships, which would be a great trade for France.

Cape Breton island might be made into a second Normandy by planting apples, especially of the Calville species, which would have an exquisite flavour like those of Acadia. Hemp is indigenous and grows plentifully. Grain would do better there than in Quebec. Hops would also grow there.

There is everywhere good hunting for Canada geese, wild geese, partridge, grouse, pigeons, ducks, plovers, teal, snipe, and all kinds of river game. I say nothing of the furs of Canada which are abundant.

The cod fishing banks would be nearer than at Placentia and there would not be so much risk in fishing, inasmuch as it is carried on close to the shore all along the island.

I have only to assure you that I am,

Sir,

Your very humble, &c.



A. L'endroit où on jette d'abord la morue

THE PLACE WHERE THE COD ARE
FIRST PILED

From Bacqueville de la Potherie, *Histoire
de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1753),
Volume I

LETTER II

*The English Colony in Newfoundland almost entirely
destroyed in 1696 and 1697.*

Sir,

FROM my earliest youth you have always been fond of me, and I have always honoured you. Such perfect friendship forms so sacred a link of attachment between the hearts of two friends that it is impossible to break it. For myself, having already pledged you my friendship in the past, I would renew it at present by the expression of the utmost devotion to your interests. I would beg you to accept the description of the island of Newfoundland which I am sending you.

During the present war there have been such heroic exploits that no monarchy has ever maintained the glory of its prince with such splendour as that of France. The reputation of the King's arms having spread to the uttermost parts of the world, the Canadians desired, in their turn, to show that they were not less devoted to His Majesty's interests than his other subjects. Impelled by this noble ambition, they have, on several occasions, given proof of their fidelity. You will allow me, Sir, to give you some account of certain actions in which I found them engaged in the King's service at the time of my arrival in Placentia. You will find their mode of carrying on war quite different from that practised in Europe. This is due largely to the climate and the situation of the country. And, although it has something to do with the nature of the Indians with whom they are constantly at war, yet this does not hinder their glorious success in accomplishing their designs.

The English make it a rule, when establishing their colonies, to take all means of assuring the comforts of life which the nature of the climate of the country will permit. The large number of harbours which they occupied in Newfoundland gave evidence that it was one of their best colonies. M. d'Iberville, knowing the richness of the island, thought he would be acting in the King's service by arresting this development and by destroying all the inhabited places so as to interrupt their trade. He took the liberty of pointing out to M. de Pontchartrain that it was dangerous to have such powerful neighbours in proximity to Placentia, and offered to undertake the enterprise.

His Majesty allowed him to take some Canadians for this purpose, and commanded him to join forces, in the summer of 1696, with M. Du Brouillan, governor of Placentia. The ships *Pelican*, *Comte de Toulouse*, *Phéliepeaux*, *Vendôme*, *Harcour*, and two fireships, manned by men from St. Malo, were to make the attack by sea.

As M. d'Iberville was engaged in the expedition against the English of Acadia, he could not arrive in time so that the governor had to set sail with these ships.

He took several small harbours in which he found vessels loaded with codfish, but, owing to a misunderstanding between him and the men of St. Malo, he failed to capture St. John's, the largest place on the island. He had to return to Placentia where he met M. d'Iberville, who had arrived from Acadia and was about to set out to join him, having been unable to do so sooner because all the Canadians had not yet arrived from Canada.

M. d'Iberville had undertaken the entire destruction

of these harbours by a land attack, not thinking it easy by sea, and he was preparing to make the attempt. But M. Du Brouillan, desiring to share in so glorious an enterprise, in which he himself had failed of success with fifteen to sixteen hundred men, intercepted the Canadians. The latter declared roundly that they would not obey him, wishing to return to Canada, and said they would take to the woods sooner than follow him. They complained that, when leaving Quebec, they had not been told that they were to recognize him as their general and, moreover, that they knew they were maintained at the expense of M. d'Iberville from whom they had received their pay.

M. Du Brouillan, knowing that M. d'Iberville had been ordered to carry on the war alone in the winter (which he had always thought impossible), sent to him a Captain Demuid of the Canadian infantry, who was in command of a Canadian detachment and who was to tell him that M. Du Brouillan only wished to take part in the capture of St. John's and its inhabitants, without claiming any share in the advantages which might accrue. When a commander has the goodwill of those under his command, it is easy to handle them and to inspire them with such views as he thinks fitting. I think M. d'Iberville's conduct was very judicious in so embarrassing a situation as that in which he found himself. On the one hand, he knew what would be the result of commencing in the north of the island, and, besides, he was sure that the English would have fortified themselves anew for fear of the return of the French. Finally, after calming the minds of the irritated Canadians who are not easy to control, he determined to set out for St. John's.

M. Du Brouillan embarked on the *Profond* and set sail for Renews, the place of meeting. M. d'Iberville, fearing the gales prevalent at that season, which, carrying him out to sea, would force him to go to France with one hundred and twenty men who were at his expense, made his journey on land.

The reputation which he had acquired among different Indian tribes led Pierre-Jeanbeovilh, a war chief of the Abenakis, to leave his tribe in order to see with his own eyes what they were saying about M. d'Iberville. This chief wanted to know if M. d'Iberville could carry on war against the English better than he could himself, and also against his enemies the Iroquois. He was a man of fine proportions, thirty-eight or forty years old. His features were cast in a martial mould. His actions and manners showed that he had the sentiments of a noble soul. His self-control was so great that he was never seen to laugh. He had collected single-handed during his life more than forty scalps.

It was not fitting to engage in a campaign of five or six months without having some ecclesiastic. M. l'Abbé Baudouin, who had formerly been a musketeer, a pupil of M. l'Abbé Tronson, and at present a missionary in Acadia, wishing to give proof of his zeal, accompanied M. d'Iberville.

The whole party set out from Placentia on All Saint's Day in the year 1696, to go to the head of the harbour which is about two leagues long. On the next day, they went up into the woods about half a league, and, on the third day, they marched into a marshy country which was overgrown with moss into which they sank, breaking through the ice. They marched for nine days through almost impenetrable woods, having to cross rivers and



INDIANS

From Bacqueville de la Potherie, *Histoire
de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1753),
Volume I

lakes up to their waists, when the cold was very severe. On the 10th of the month they arrived at Ferryland, which M. d'Iberville was the first to enter with ten men whom he detached from the rest. For the last two days their provisions had begun to run short. They found, very opportunely, a dozen horses which furnished them with food while they were awaiting the supplies that had been embarked on the *Profond*. M. Du Brouillan, having arrived first at Renew's, sent off Rancogne, an officer of the garrison, with some soldiers and they captured an Englishman. This man escaped and carried word of them to St. John's. The governor of that place did not fail to send out at once a considerable scouting party. They met the French officer, there was a skirmish, and he had to give way to the superior force, losing one man killed, another wounded, and four prisoners. This officer got back to Ferryland with three men half dead with hunger and cold.

While M. d'Iberville was on his way in a canoe to join M. Du Brouillan, he sent Plene to Cape Broyle with twelve men as well as two Englishmen who had been captured. Plene succeeded in getting a quantity of provisions and carried off twelve prisoners. These prisoners said there were one hundred men along the coast as far as Bay Bulls, who were beginning to build houses. M. Du Brouillan, after sending the *Profond* back to France with some prisoners, arrived at Ferryland with one hundred men. This was where they took the safest and most suitable measures.

For this purpose they had to do considerable scouting; it was the only way of determining the enemy's strength and of learning whether any war-ships had arrived from England. M. d'Iberville, being in command of one

hundred and twenty-four Canadians, including several gentlemen and four officers, as well as the war chief of the Abenakis who followed all his movements, set out in a launch for Bay Bulls, which is six leagues from Ferryland. On his arrival, he captured a merchant ship of about one hundred tons, the crew of which fled into the woods together with the inhabitants of the place.

Twenty Canadians set out for St. John's. Ten others, searching the woods, captured five men, among whom was the captain of this merchant ship. He had left England with two men-of-war of fifty and seventy-two guns, which he had quitted on the great bank and which were due to arrive at St. John's. Deschaufours was detached with six Canadians for Witless Bay; six others took three prisoners and a woman. Four sailors deserted to the French; two Canadians of the party which had gone to St. John's came back. The rest reconnoitred Petty Harbour, which is five leagues from Bay Bulls, with a prisoner who told them that there were no ships at St. John's except three merchantmen; but they dared not separate for fear the tracks of their snow-shoes would betray them.

After discovering these facts, they advanced directly on St. John's. M. d'Iberville, having chosen as his lieutenant, Lieutenant Montigny of a Canadian company, was the first to set out, with seven Canadians, in order to make himself master of the heights, from which they could observe M. Du Brouillan who was leading his detachment. As it was impossible to get horses and wagons to carry the baggage through these impassable roads, each Canadian carried his own ammunition. Three hours after his march, M. d'Iberville, having met the men who were returning from the reconnaissance of St.

John's, captured thirty Englishmen from Petty Harbour who had discovered our men. He attacked them, and, fording a very rapid river which was waist-deep, he captured the place in spite of the resistance he met with by reason of the entrenchments which the English had thrown up. The enemy lost thirty-six men and some prisoners. The others reached St. John's. The snow became heavier and, as they had either to conquer or die, they advanced in order of battle on November 28.

Montigny, marching five hundred paces before the troop, formed the advance guard with thirty Canadians. M. Du Brouillan and M. d'Iberville followed with the main body. The *habitants* of the governor were in the front, but were given orders to let the Canadians pass through in case of attack. After marching two leagues and a half, the advance guard discovered that they were within a pistol-shot of the enemy, eighty in number, who were well posted in a burnt wood under cover of rocks. Montigny, when he found he was discovered, urged on his men who rushed on with lowered heads. M. l'Abbé Baudouin briefly exhorted the Canadians and, after he had given them general absolution, each man flung away the clothes with which he was loaded. M. Du Brouillan attacked in front, M. d'Iberville charged on their left where he took them in the flank, under the shelter of the rocks. The fight raged obstinately for half an hour. Several of the enemy were killed and the others gave way. Iberville, sword in hand, along with the chief of the Abenakis, rushed upon them and they retreated. They took refuge in St. John's and he assaulted them there. They withdrew into two forts; he drove them out, took possession of the forts, and made thirty

prisoners with some families. The rest fled into the large fort and on to a ketch which was in the harbour.

While this was going on, M. Du Brouillan arrived with the troops. Demuid took up his position, with sixty men, in the fort nearest the large fort, which was about a cannon-shot distant. The main body encamped in the city.

This fort was a stockade faced with a terrace three feet high. The ketch took advantage of a favourable wind. The enemy placed in it their best effects and embarked nearly one hundred men. They lost fifty men in this pursuit. M. Du Brouillan's trumpeter was killed. Three of his men and two Canadians were slightly wounded.

The hope of the English for the speedy arrival of the two men-of-war prevented us from immediately taking possession of the large fort into which, we were told by some who had come over to our side, a force of two hundred men had hastily been thrown.

It was necessary to clear a way in order to reconnoitre the fort. For this purpose, Demuid and Montigny, with sixty Canadians, burned the houses in the vicinity. The fort is situated on the north-east slope, half way up, dominated by two hills both a gunshot distant. It is a square flanked by four bastions, surrounded by a palisade, with eight four-pound cannon and a covered way (which, however, was at this time filled with snow), a draw-bridge, and a raised terrace about three feet thick. In the middle of the fort, about half a gunshot distant from a stream, was a small tower on which were four four-pound cannon; and under it was a cellar, serving as a powder magazine.

While the Canadians were setting fire to all these

houses, M. d'Iberville had advanced to support them near the fort with about thirty men, while M. Du Brouillan maintained his advanced position with his command. There were several skirmishes during the reconnaissance of the fort and the enemy had one man killed.

As the English were bent on temporizing and were resolved to defend themselves, we sent to Bay Bulls for a mortar, bombs, and powder which had been left there.

A place may be said to be half surrendered when the commander begins to parley. On December 30, a man came out with a white flag to discuss terms. An interview was mutually agreed upon. The English commander, trusting in the honour of the French, came in person with four of the chief citizens who would not let any of our men enter the fort, fearing lest we should see to what a bad state they were reduced. They insisted on not surrendering till the next day. They hoped that the wind might change and that the two men-of-war, which they had seen two days before lying off the coast about two leagues away, would come into the port. A fair hope for people in distress, but vain and useless at a time when they were so closely pressed, for we refused them this delay. Their dread of being taken by assault made them hesitate. They were persuaded that the Canadians were like the Iroquois, pitiless towards their enemies. They expected to lose their scalps. This is a rule of Indian warfare prevalent among most of the northern tribes, who, after capturing their enemies, take off their scalps as the most authentic trophy of their own courage. This trophy, I repeat, serves as a monument to the glory of an Indian, who would consider himself a man of little valour if, on his return from war, he had

not several scalps with him. It was necessary, therefore, to surrender the same day.

The terms finally concluded were:

That the place should be surrendered at two o'clock in the afternoon.

That the garrison and the inhabitants should march out of the fort without arms.

That their lives should be safe and that no insult should be offered to their wives and daughters.

That none of the clothes that they were wearing should be taken from them.

That they should be provided with two vessels to take them to England.

That they should be supplied with provisions for two months from the day they embarked.

Major Lhermite of Placentia brought the articles of capitulation to the garrison and to the citizens who signed them, and then he took them back to the English commander who had stayed in the camp and who ratified them. The evacuation of the place was carried out at once. One hundred and sixty men surrendered, not counting women and children. Demuid was ordered to remain in the fort with a garrison of sixty men.

As Iberville had to continue the war for the rest of the winter, he could not spare his Canadians. They did not wish to expose to invasion by the English a place which had cost them so much pain and hardship, and which, in course of time, might serve them as a refuge. They were obliged, therefore, to demolish the fort and to burn all the dwellings except a few houses which were kept for the sick, whom it was impossible to convey through the woods.

St. John's is a very fine harbour, large enough for

more than two hundred vessels. The entrance is almost a gunshot in width, between two high mountains, with a battery of eight guns at this place. There were fifty-eight inhabitants, well settled on the north shore along the harbour for the space of half a league.

There were three forts; one near the wood on the west, another in the middle which was under the command of one of the inhabitants who left it on the arrival of the French, and the third was the one on which the French made their attack.

This last defended the entrance to the harbour (although from a distance), over which it had entire command as well as over most of the houses situated in its neighbourhood. These houses contained the best effects which it had been necessary to burn on the eve of the surrender.

The alarm which had spread among the English obliged them to abandon several places and take refuge at Carbonear. Their spies kept coming and going to learn of the catastrophe of St. John's.

Montigny had orders from M. d'Iberville to pass through the woods with twelve men and seize Portugal Cove, six leagues from St. John's on Conception bay. He captured a launch which had come from Carbonear to get news of St. John's. Two of his party reported that he had taken thirty prisoners, that the ketch which had escaped from St. John's had arrived there, and that there was also a merchant ship. These detachments took one hundred prisoners all told. Quidi Vidé lay too near St. John's to be left alone. Nine well-established settlers there suffered the same fate as their neighbours.

The attack on St. John's having been carried out, M. Du Brouillan got ready to leave for Placentia. He

was not in a condition to carry on other enterprises for it requires a vigorous constitution to stand the hardships that one endures in this climate. As he had to carry out the terms of surrender, he gave a fireship to two hundred and fifty English to take them back to England, and the ship which had been captured at Bay Bulls was to take eighty others to France. The latter was lost on the coast of Spain, where the Spaniards gave a very bad reception to the French whom they robbed.

As for M. d'Iberville, he took every possible means of mastering the other harbours. It is part of the skill of a general to make the best use of his small force when he finds it necessary to make several expeditions, but it is not natural for one hundred men to conquer one thousand. The Canadians, however, had made it a principle to conquer and, as I wish to develop all the attacks and descents which they made on the English, I will describe them step by step according to the different movements in which the Canadians were engaged. A Canadian must be convinced of the courage of his captain in order to obey him. It is true that all M. d'Iberville's officers lived only for glory. They knew their duty perfectly well, and so he could have confidence in their good leadership.

After a party had destroyed at Portugal Cove a battery of eight guns which commanded the entrance to the harbour so that it was impregnable by sea; after La Perrière had returned from Cape St. Francis and Toad's Cove where he had made thirteen prisoners; after they had burned eighty launches and had occupied thirty-five leagues of country on Conception bay, M. d'Iberville departed with his whole force on January 13, 1697.

They had time to make snow-shoes for the journey,



A CANADIAN GOING TO WAR ON
SNOWSHOES

From Bacqueville de la Potherie, *Histoire
de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1753),
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without which it was impossible to march. In shape they resemble tennis rackets but are much larger. They are made of two small pieces of wood placed cross-wise, with a hole in the middle called *l'oeillet* [the eyelet], as wide as the end of the sole of the foot; which, being beside one of the cross-pieces, allows the movement necessary for walking. Around the eyelet are leather laces which are tied to the shoe, which is a moccasin made of elk or caribou skin and as supple as a glove. By means of these snow-shoes you can make your way along the most dangerous precipices covered with snow.

It was necessary to break the roads. For this purpose Montigny went to Portugal Cove where the others proceeded later. They stayed there two days on account of the tremendous quantity of snow that fell. They observed that not nearly so much fell in Canada.

Montigny set out again with thirty of the strongest men; they hastened their march and went as far in one day as he had been able to in two. They continued their way but the ice cut their snow-shoes. Some would make a mis-step and fall; others would be almost buried in the snow. Montigny himself fell into a river and had to throw away his musket and his sword in order to escape with his life. At last the advance guard arrived at the head of the bay, twenty-five miles by land from St. John's. Here they captured twelve Englishmen and, while waiting for M. d'Iberville who was bringing on his troops, Montigny went by sea in a skiff to Harbour Main where he captured a dozen more Englishmen who had come from Carbonear. Carbonear was Montigny's objective. It was the refuge of a large number of English who, by a short crossing, kept coming and going to the neighbouring island of the same name.

The land journey to Carbonear was too long; we should have had to march thirty leagues, while the sea journey took only two or three hours.

At Harbour Main we repaired the launches for our departure. We equipped three of them and a skiff, in which one hundred and twenty-four Canadians embarked. After sailing three leagues to sea with a head wind, we saw four launches and they, fearing that the French were coming to the island of Carbonear, put about and raised the alarm everywhere. It would have been rash to continue the chase. We left Brigus on one side, a well-established settlement of about sixty men, and made a descent upon Port de Grave which we took. We found in it one hundred and ten men, well armed, without counting women and children. It is a beautiful spot. The large number of cattle provided food for our soldiers. The men of Brigus appeared to be too quiet. As they did not come to the help of their neighbours, M. d'Iberville sent a summons to them with orders for the three chief men to come to him at Carbonear with all their fire-arms. It would have been too much trouble to take charge of so many prisoners; the destruction of their dwellings was enough.

Montigny was sent off at day-break with fifty men in three launches to take Mosquito Cove, which is between Harbour Grace and Carbonear. The others embarked for the island of Carbonear in five other boats, about nine o'clock in the morning. We had to pass along the coast of the island. The English thought we were coming to make a landing and fired several cannon-shots. There seemed to be about two hundred of them lodged in barracks. We only went around the island to get to Carbonear where Montigny had killed some of the

English, made several prisoners, and pursued the others through the woods till they took refuge in New Perlican, six leagues from Carbonear. This harbour, one of the best-built settlements in Newfoundland, had twenty-two inhabitants. We found there people worth a hundred thousand francs who had all their property sent away. The place had considerable trade.

M. d'Iberville took a very special interest in the island of Carbonear, knowing how important its possession was, and knowing also that both its situation and the season formed great obstacles to such an enterprise. It is a precipitous rock, sloping steeply on all sides to the sea, which it commands. There was only one narrow landing-place at the western point, within a pistol-shot of a recess for launches, where they had four six-pound guns. There would have to be a calm in order to make a landing and, besides, there was only room for two launches. We summoned the English to surrender and they refused. When one is in a position sheltered from attack by the enemy, and strong in defense, it is not natural to yield quickly. The best property of the English colony had been brought here; they had, therefore, enough to keep them through the remainder of the winter in the hope that help would be sent from England.

The weather became more severe than ever. M. d'Iberville at midnight sent two launches to the island; they brought back word that the surf was still running high at the island and that it was impossible to make a landing. The sea grew somewhat calmer on the next day, January 30. Eighty men embarked for the eastern and northern sides. A sentinel called in a shaky voice, "Who goes there?" Montigny, paying no attention, rowed more vigorously; the others followed suit; they

wanted to set foot on shore but the ice and the surf prevented them. The sentinel fired on them without wounding anyone; and, meanwhile, the guard arrived and they took up a position on a height from which they could stop a thousand men.

A retreat made in good time is more advantageous to a commander than an untimely sacrifice of the best of his troops when he ought to be sparing them for other places which he wishes to capture in the course of time.

Harbour Grace, which was as important commercially as Carbonear, having fallen under suspicion, was set on fire. It was the first colony the English established. Three years ago, an inhabitant died there aged eighty-three, who had been born in the place, which shows how long they have been living on this island.

While Boisbriant, ensign of a Canadian company, was taking several prisoners, and Plene had captured twenty men at Salmon Cove, among whom was a second governor of St. John's whom I have already mentioned, second-lieutenant La Parade was detached to keep control of the men of Portugal Cove and Brigus who were getting into too close connection with the island of Carbonear. Their failure to keep their parole in course of time stirred up Montigny and Boisbriant, who, with forty-five of the Canadians, set fire to their houses. We could no longer trust their good faith. Our men brought away the inhabitants, most of whom still had arms in their possession.

A wind from the south-west became favourable for an expedition to Bay de Verde, ten leagues to the north of Carbonear, between the bays of Trinity and Conception. M. d'Iberville embarked on February 3, with fifty men in three shallops. They set out at midnight and

arrived at day-break within three leagues of the place, after a very disagreeable passage on which one of the Canadians had a toe frozen. The best runners went scouting in the woods and captured two Englishmen who were going to Old Perlican, and seven others who were returning from that place. As they stated that they were ignorant of the French march, and that there were several shallops ready to leave for the island of Carbonear, M. d'Iberville advanced to attack eighty men who surrendered at discretion. They were kept under observation, except two whom he sent to Bay de Verde to assure the inhabitants that they would have the same treatment. Two of the chief citizens, trusting in the good faith of their fellow-countrymen, came in to give a guarantee, but thirty or forty of the most active took refuge in the woods and in shallops. M. d'Iberville, arriving on February 6, found the inhabitants quite submissive. He captured a shallop there with six men who were coming from the island whither they had been sent to know if they could go there with their property. Boisbriant was satisfied with bringing the leading men to Carbonear. The rest of the Canadians awaited M. d'Iberville at Old Perlican whither he returned. It is a very considerable place with nineteen inhabitants, several storehouses for cod, and a number of cattle. The Canadians left most of the people, with a few exceptions, content with their good fortune but very forgetful of the favourable treatment they had received. Scilly Cove, two leagues distant, served as a stopping place for a night. They found a large number of cattle there, but the inhabitants, abandoning everything, had all gone away.

When we took possession of all these ports, we raised

the French standard over them. New Perlican, which was two leagues on, was also entirely deserted. The inhabitants thought they were safer if they went to Heart's Content, where these people had taken refuge. There was a little fort there, which was only a house fortified against musketry with loop-holes above and below. These loop-holes were blocked up. What could these people do, living constantly in the midst of alarms and hearing every minute of the Canadians who would show them no quarter? They were aware, however, that M. d'Iberville was acting generously toward them. This confidence obliged them to send to him an Irishman, who was the chief commander, in order to beg him to spare their lives. Thirty men, with their wives and children, came out of this retreat, which was well supplied with provisions. We left in command there Deschaufours, an Acadian gentleman, with ten men.

As we had many prisoners we were very glad to make an exchange. We wished also to have three Irishmen who had taken sides with the English and who had been carried off by the men of the island of Carbonear. A shallop was sent for this purpose but met with a refusal. Then another was sent. They demanded an Englishman for a Frenchman and three for an Irishman. We accepted those terms. For the purpose of exchange, a spot was selected that was beyond the range of cannon both on the island and on the mainland. Montigny went to this spot with five Frenchmen and the number of English they had asked for, among them the brother of the governor of the island who would have preferred staying with the French to risking his life anew. A skiff with six men left the island at the same time, but without bringing our men. Montigny asked the cause of this

forgetfulness. They proposed that the governor's brother should go to the island and bring the Frenchmen. This was refused and they went back again. Then the commander, the lieutenant, and the major came back without any Frenchmen. Montigny had the best cause in the world to complain of their proceedings. One of these officers struck at him with his sabre, which Montigny warded off, and the only difficulty he had in this encounter was in forcing them, willy-nilly, into his boat and in taking along theirs. They gave very poor excuses to M. d'Iberville, alleging that they could not control their men, and that, if he would send them back again, it would give them a chance to make the exchange with more authority. They were in too good hands to deserve being trusted again. They were only allowed to send in exchange some prisoners, almost all of whom the English still retained, threatening to fire on the French if they returned to the island. Two Indians took care of these three officers, conducting them as far as Heart's Content.

Some time after, these officers proposed to surrender the island and force those who were on it to recognize our King's authority if they were permitted to carry on the cod fishery during the summer. Montigny, having taken charge of them, allowed one of the officers to go on this mission, demanding that the other two pay ten thousand francs if he did not return. His journey was unsuccessful. The three of them offered to pay ten thousand livres for their liberty but they were refused. While M. d'Iberville was making a trip to Placentia to obtain news of France, Montigny and La Perrière were ordered to assemble two hundred of the most important prisoners at Bay Bulls. As for Boisbriant, who had a

detachment at Heart's Content, he was to keep an eye on the movements going on towards Carbonear. M. d'Iberville returned by sea from Placentia, with the Abbé Baudouin, to the head of Cromwell bay. There he met La Periere with five launches and sixty prisoners. He had had an encounter with a number of the enemy who had made a landing from the island. There had been a sharp conflict in which he had killed eleven of them and captured three women.

Old Perlican, which had been treated by us with all possible regard, had, in the meantime, taken up arms again, contrary to its parole. The inhabitants, who kept giving secret information about the movements of the French to the island of Carbonear, underwent the fate which they had drawn upon themselves by their lack of discretion. M. d'Iberville arrived there on the night of March 13, and he learned that a sixty-ton vessel had just arrived from England, loaded with provisions, and that eleven of the inhabitants had gone on board to defend her against the French in case of attack. While four launches were keeping close to this boat, word was sent to the men of Bay de Verde of the arrival of the French. There was a small vessel there in which several men had embarked who were longing for a favourable chance to get over to the island. We finally succeeded in capturing the vessel at Old Perlican where we found eighteen men well armed and three cannon. We set fire to all the houses there and at Bay de Verde and made sixty prisoners.

M. d'Iberville was getting ready to complete the destruction of all the English settlements in this country. They had only Bonavista left, which would have suffered the same fate but for our arrival which interrupted

Iberville's plans and saved this last place for the English.

We found him at Placentia whence he was to set out on this last expedition. But as the journey to Hudson Bay was far more important and was the main object of our voyage, he dismissed his Canadians in order to embark on our fleet.

It is marvellous, Sir, that one hundred and twenty Canadians such as you see [in our illustrations] should have taken possession of so large a territory under the most rigorous conditions of climate that can be imagined. Cold, rain, snow, hunger, and thirst were all against them. Yet they took more than seven hundred prisoners, and killed in different engagements more than two hundred men, having only two of their own men wounded!

The inhabitants of this colony were living without any religion and it would have been difficult for them to say what religion they professed. Their sexual morality was corrupt to a degree.

The following, Sir, is an enumeration of the inhabitants of each of their settlements, of their fishermen and launches, and of their catch of codfish. The English themselves admit that the trade brings in seventeen millions every year. It will be several years before they recover their former state.

I am with devotion,

Sir,

Your very humble, &c.

	Men	Fishermen	Boats	Quintals of cod
Renews Hr	120	7	8	4000
Fermuse	40	7	8	4000

182 EARLY HISTORY OF HUDSON BAY

Aquaforte	25	4	5	2500
Ferryland	108	22	16	8000
Caplin Bay	12	2	2	1000
Cape Broyle	5	1	1	1000
Brigus	15	3	3	1500
Toad's Cove	30	3	5	2500
Witless Bay	15	2	3	1500
Bay Bulls	120	13	20	10000
Petty Harbour	80	14	16	8000
St. John's	300	59	125	62500
Quidi Vidé	40	9	9	4500
	910	146	221	111000

CONCEPTION BAY AND TRINITY BAY

	Men	Fishermen	Boats	Quintals of cod
Torbay	18	3	4	2400

CONCEPTION BAY NORTH-WESTWARD

Portugal Cove	25	3	3	2100
Harbour Main	12	1	2	1000
Bacon Cove	11	2	2	1000
Brigus	70	11	12	6000
Port de Grave	116	14	20	10000
Hailins Cove	18	3	3	1500
Bay Roberts	10	3	3	1500
Bryant's Cove	30	4	6	3000
Harbour Grace	100	14	15	7500
Mosquito Cove	35	3	5	2500
Carbonear	220	22	50	22500
Croques Cove	30	4	5	2500
Capelin Cove	22	3	4	2000
Bay de Verde	85	14	16	11000

TRINITY BAY SOUTHWARD

Old Perlican	130	19	27	13500
Lance Cove	30	4	5	3000
Scilly Cove	40	4	7	4700
New Perlican	60	9	11	6600
Heart's Content	20	4	4	2400

NORTHWARD

Heartsease	12	1	2	1000
Trinity	24	2	4	2000

316	43	60	33200
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Total quintals of cod, 188800	(220.700)
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LETTER III

Description of the Strait of Hudson Bay. Important Events. New Discoveries. New Alliance with the Eskimos of Cape Digges, in Latitude 62° 45' N. Action in the Ice between the "Profond" and the English.

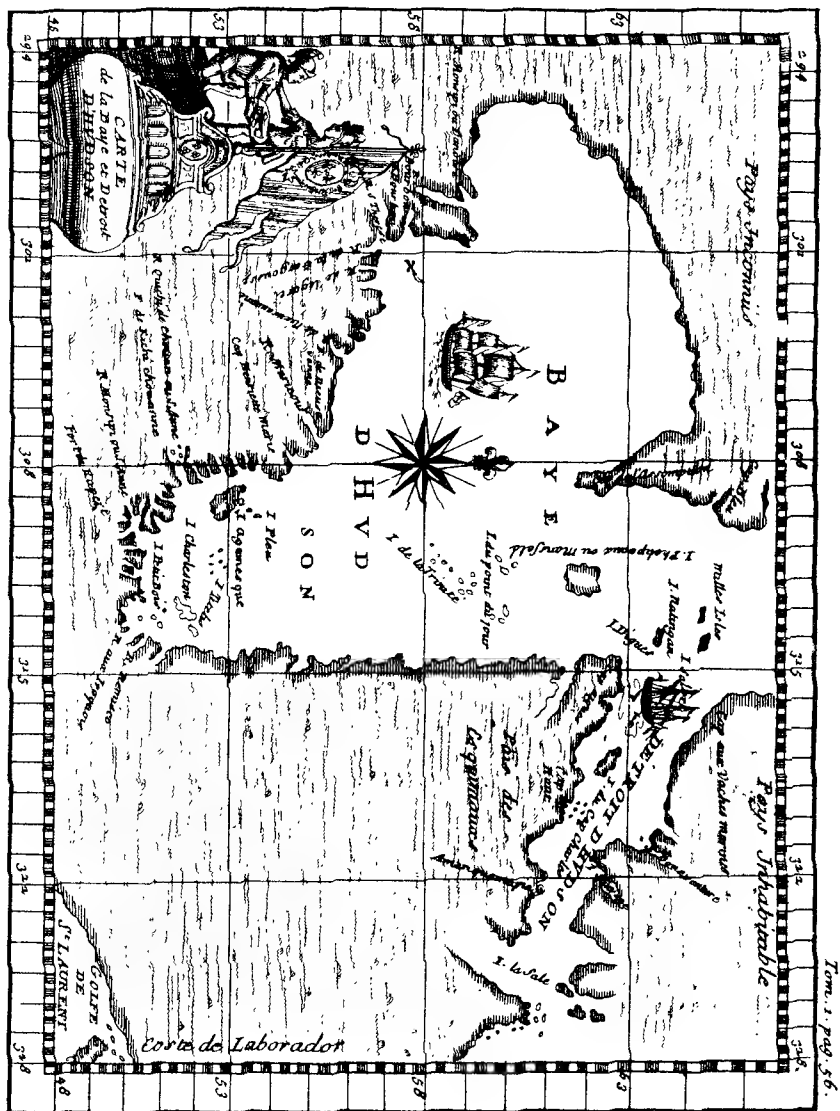
Sir,

I KNOW it is committing a crime against the public good to disturb by long speeches the important business of one whose destiny it is to bear alone the burden and the difficulties inseparable from great affairs. Nevertheless, I venture to believe that you will not blame me if I take the liberty of giving you a particular account of the straits leading into Hudson Bay, and of telling you of the alliance we have made with a nation hitherto almost unknown, and of communicating to you the narrative of a battle which took place among

ice-floes between one of the King's ships and the English. I know that great men only lay aside one intellectual task to take up another; and that, being constantly busy with the work of their ministry, their only diversion is to leave an important occupation for one not as important and serious. The world is well aware that, for a long time, you have been sustaining alone the burden of two important bureaux and that, when they leave you a little leisure, you think it cannot be better spent than in the pursuit of science and literature, a change of occupation which seems to add new force to your intellectual powers. I flatter myself that the recital which I am about to make of a part of my travels is not quite unworthy to take up a few moments of your time.

We set sail from Placentia on July 8 with a south-south-west wind. We tacked against it all day in the bay and, after doubling Cape St. Mary, we sailed with a north-west wind along this coast on which there appeared to be good pasturage. We came within a league of Cape Trépas, which is opposite Cape St. Mary. We saw at the same distance to the north-east, one point east, Cape Penne. At four o'clock in the morning, Cape Race appeared six leagues to the north-west one quarter west and at eight o'clock, Cape St. Francis was on the north-north-west. The further we advanced towards the pole the more the days lengthened, but the warmth diminished and the cold became gradually more apparent.

On the 17th, we perceived, three leagues to windward, a floating iceberg three hundred feet in height, in the shape of a sugar loaf. We might have been in latitude $53^{\circ} 56'$. I have no doubt, Sir, that this will appear very surprising but the sequel of the voyage will show many



A MAP OF HUDSON BAY AND HUDSON STRAIT

From Baquellville de la Pothe, *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1753), Volume I

other true facts equally surprising.

Nothing is more disagreeable than to find yourself in a storm, but it is much worse when storms happen in these places. On the 24th, in latitude $60^{\circ} 9'$, we met a gale from the north-north-west which lasted eight hours. All our rigging was covered with ice and our crews suffered a great deal. The *Palmier* had her bowsprit broken. This, however, was but the beginning of the difficulties and hardships we were to endure in the course of the most dangerous navigation. On the 25th, we knew from the current that we were approaching the frigid zone; and on that day we saw nothing but terrifying sights, for, as we were making our way north-north-west, we began, about eight o'clock in the morning, to run into a field of ice.

The first land in this clime that we became acquainted with, the next day at eight o'clock in the evening, was Resolution island.¹ It is in latitude $62^{\circ} 33'$ – 34° variation north-west. It forms the *embouchure* of Hudson strait, with the Button islands which are in latitude $61^{\circ} 10'$. They lie north and south and are about fourteen to fifteen leagues distant from each other.

Resolution island is about eight leagues in length from east to west. From the west side it seems to have the figure of a crescent. There are two little islands a couple of leagues from the eastern end. It is about six or seven leagues distant from the main land.

We discovered as well two other neighbouring islands, unknown to the French, because they had believed

¹Resolution island extends in a north and south direction from $61^{\circ} 20'$ to 62° north latitude, and the Button islands, on the south side of the entrance to Hudson strait, are in north latitude $60^{\circ} 40'$. They are forty miles apart, so that the distance here given of fourteen to fifteen leagues is not far wrong.

formerly that there was but one island, whereas we found two others. We called the one La Salle island and the other La Potherie. They lie south and south-south-west.

La Salle, which is about three leagues in circumference and about the same distance from Resolution island, forms an *embouchure* to enter the strait.

La Potherie is three leagues from Resolution, east of La Salle, and is about four leagues in circuit.

The winds from south-west to west, which were contrary to us, and the tides which ran up well to the north having thrown us among these islands, we were driven from the true opening of this strait. As the passage between Resolution and La Salle was obstructed by the ice-field, we were obliged to tack along it two days in order to find another opening. The sea at that time was like a pond. It made a noise, however, which sounded like boiling water. I wished to discover the cause of so remarkable a phenomenon, and, on considering the situation of all these coasts, I did not perceive any rocks (for the coasts seemed to me quite clear), and the mariner must know that the shores of these islands and, in general, of the whole strait, rise clear to an immense elevation. I wished to investigate more closely the reason of this boiling surge. Finally, after much reflection, seeing we were only half a league from La Salle, I embarked in a skiff on the 28th to explore the shore. This discovery led me to understand the origin of the grandeur and tremendous size of so many icebergs or veritable floating islands which are to be found in all these climes.

As I was at the foot of this island, I saw a long stretch of ice, from twelve to fifteen feet in thickness, attached to the rocks and sustained in the air, and I perceived a

number of torrents which fell from the ice into the sea. Now, it is certain that, however great the current and the tides that are found in those regions, the cold is so extreme that it generally stops the flow of the sea. The snow, which falls so abundantly during the greater part of the year, forms little mountains by the action of the wind and gradually hardens. Then from time to time come thaws which cause the melted snow to fall in these torrents. The cold, returning suddenly, again stops their flow, and thus there arise glaciers of immense height which are dreadful to behold. It sometimes happens that these avalanches of water, falling from the precipices, bring down with them masses of earth and rock such as I saw afterwards on one of the great mountain glaciers of Resolution island.

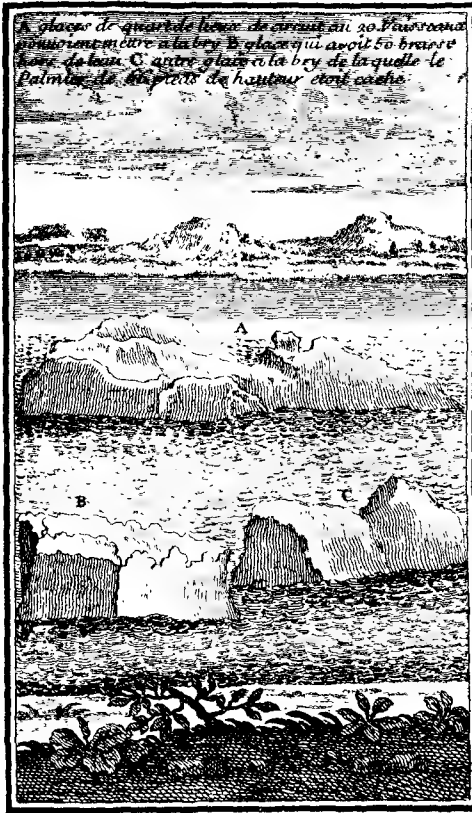
I arrived at La Salle where I had to climb in order to get ashore; I did not find an inch of earth. I saw a great number of these precipices stretching down into the sea on which there was much snow and, on the very top, I found a pond of fresh water about three hundred paces in circumference.

A philosopher would have found much cause for reflection in the boiling surge that is stirred up in the sea between these islands.

I am of the opinion, Sir, that the opening of the strait, shut in by the usual ice-fields, which are sometimes more than forty feet thick, stops the course of the flood tide which enters it impetuously from the ocean; and, as the precipitous shores of these lands are very high, they must continue in the same way to the bottom of the sea, for it is here a hundred and forty fathoms deep (*brasse*: 1.62 metre). Thus the sea finds a resistance in these deep hollows where there must also be much salt-

petre, which, being stirred up by the force of the tide, produces this boiling which is, in fact, only a fermentation. There is so much saltpetre there that I used to pick it up every morning on the leaden plates of our cannon, and, even when they were bleeding our sick, the opening of the wound would be bordered with it.

An experienced pilot ought to know the safe and the dangerous side of all the coasts where he may sail, and he is sometimes to be greatly pitied when he is obliged by a novel experience to learn whereabouts he is. Our pilots with the squadron knew their trade but they had never been in these regions. We lowered sail through the night off La Salle island and set sail at day-break on July 30, in order to pass between that island and the mainland. This passage, which is about two leagues across, we called Iberville's strait. We are the first Frenchmen to make this discovery. We entered this narrow passage with a south-west wind, which changed, at eight o'clock in the morning, to south-south-east which carried us into the strait. Half a league within it, at some distance from the mainland on the north, our ship passed within a pistol-shot of a rock on the level of the water which a counter current of the tide revealed to us. The sea was perfectly smooth. It remained so till we reached the end of the strait. This calm is due to the banks of ice which form a shelter against the winds. If it were not for this, no vessel could escape being dashed to pieces if the wind should arise; and there are plenty of other dangers to be incurred. As we entered, we saw on the mainland very high, snowy mountains more than eight leagues in length; and we ran into a field of ice which extended in all directions as far as the eye could reach. The *Pelican* as usual was ahead, breaking the way when, with the wind from



ICEBERGS

From Bacqueville de la Potherie, *Histoire
 de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1753),
 Volume I

west-north-west, we began for the second time to run into the ice-field. In spite of all the skill of our pilots, we were obliged to make a number of tacks to avoid collisions, and the handling of our rigging caused much commotion on board.

Nothing could be more frightful than to see ourselves in this vast space, where we could scarcely discern the water for the many ice-floes against which our ships struck every moment. After having doubled them for three hours, we saw a clearing, *i.e.*, a stretch of water where there was no ice. We entered it and stopped side by side, as if we were becalmed, till three o'clock in the morning. This open water lasted but a short time. The further we advanced the more we saw of these tremendous stretches. The *Pelican*, which was always ahead (the three others following us in line), did her utmost to lessen the difficulties. She made openings cross-ways by main force, but the others, not being able to follow us, found themselves shut in. They signaled to us at a league distant that, as the ice was no longer open, their efforts were vain and useless. It was very distressing, Sir, to find ourselves unable to give them any assistance. They anchored at once; so did we, drawing alongside an iceberg four or five hundred feet in length, on which we landed some sailors with anchors to make fast our vessel. At that time there was no night. We had the pleasure of seeing the sun set and rise almost at the same time, and you could read with ease at midnight.

The currents in the opening of this strait are very swift. They carried us with a wind from north-north-east towards the islands of Poli and Salamandre, which are to east and west, bearing a quarter from north-west.

We could see them very easily six full leagues within the strait and two from the southern coast in latitude $60^{\circ} 7'$, 37° of variation north-west. Their names are derived from two French ships which coasted by them in 1694. From this point on, we were unable to take any certain course. The winds became changeable and all the great icebergs, which we saw continually, obliged us to change our course every moment.

The currents and winds from the south-west brought together on the north coast an immense number of floating islands of ice. All these dreadful objects occupied a space three leagues in width by four or five in length. It seemed as if one of the greatest cities in the world had been turned topsyturvy by an earthquake. I sometimes talked with a pilot who had gone as far as 80° north and he declared that nothing there even approached these horrors. In fact he had been in ice-fields while on a whaling expedition, but there the icebergs had not come above the surface of the water.

The south winds carried us towards High cape¹ which is in latitude $62^{\circ} 30'$. It is a very high point on the mainland to the south, which comes into view fifteen leagues west of the islands of Poli and Salamandre. We left this cape, at eight o'clock in the evening of August 2, to the east of Cape Charles island. The western end of this island is about six leagues from the land and is in latitude $63^{\circ} 8'$ north² with a north-west variation of $37^{\circ} 30'$. It may be ten or twelve leagues in circuit and lies about one hundred leagues within the strait.

It was of the utmost importance that we should not become separated from one another. At five in the after-

¹Cape Weggs, the latitude of which here given is approximately correct.

²Actually $62^{\circ} 45'$.

noon of August 4, our vessel weighed anchor in order to join the *Palmier*, which was nearest to us, the others being about a league and a half distant. We could not reach the ice where she was till seven the next morning, having left Cape Digges to the south-south-west, six leagues distant from us, and the island of Nottingham, which is west of Salisbury, was to our north-north-west. While we were moored there, we put in forty barrels of fresh water, very good to drink. This, Sir, is not surprising for the rain, falling upon the ice, makes a kind of cistern and, when the snow melts, the water formed has none of the acrid and salty taste of sea water. Still we have to put brandy in the casks in order to remove its crudeness; otherwise it would be dangerous to drink it pure and one would run the risk of having violent colics.

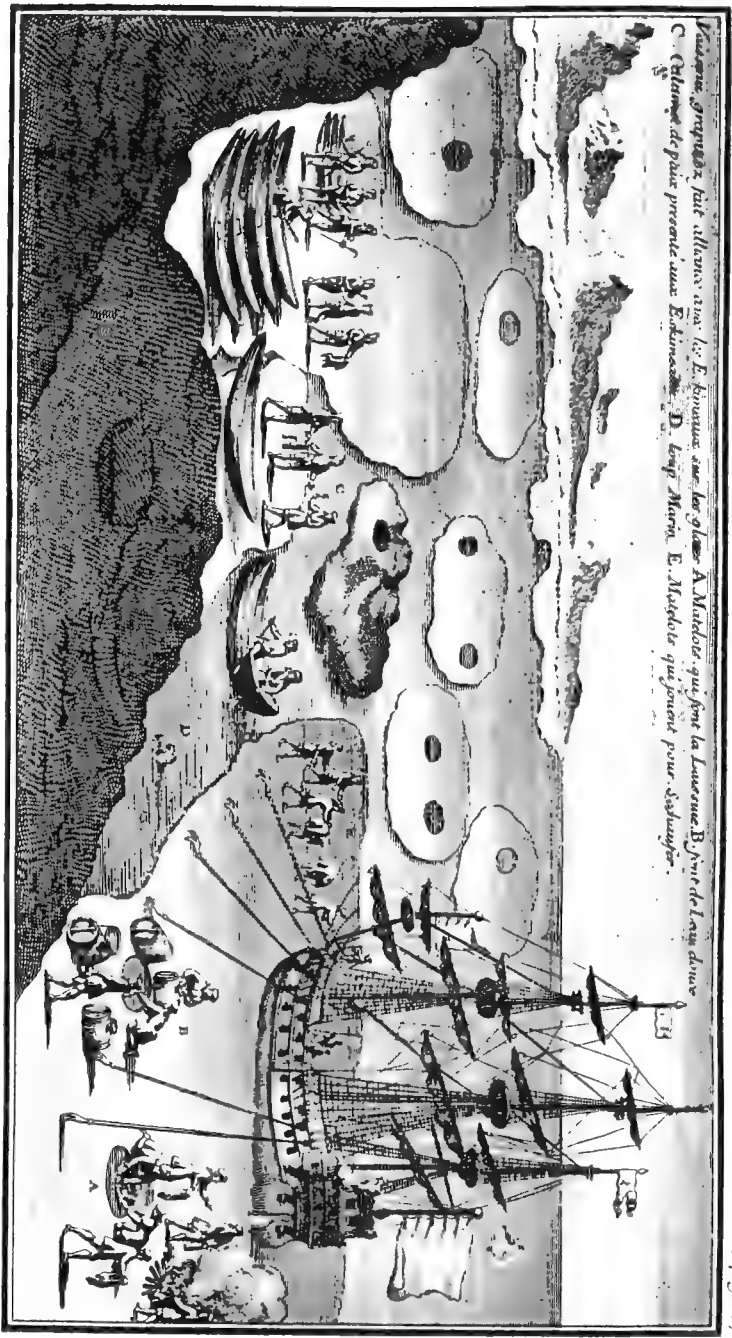
At times there occur such sudden movements of the ice, that, just as you think yourself properly moored, the whole pack opens up. As we were waiting for a favourable moment to continue our journey, the ice to which we were moored was broken up unfortunately by great currents. Our ship was carried away, without any possibility of steering her, and ran poop to poop against the *Palmier* at four o'clock in the morning. This mishap was followed by a far more cruel accident, for our brigantine, the *Esquimau*, of thirty tons, which had always followed us through the ice, was crushed near the *Palmier* and the twelve men on board barely saved their lives. The loss of this little vessel cost us dear in the sequel. Nor was this all. We had scarcely got under way an hour later with a wind from south-south-west, after finding that we had a depth of sixty fathoms, when, amid all this turmoil and confusion, the currents carried us along, all grappled as we were, in less than half an hour

to within a gunshot distance of three rocks half a league from Nottingham. Had the slightest wind driven us toward the coast, we should have been irretrievably lost. What hope would there have been for enfeebled men on a barren island where there was not an inch of earth? We had to regrapple as soon as possible to another iceberg, but the *Palmier* kept making for the land. Although we were moored to the iceberg, the ebb-tide carried us back the next day on Nottingham, and we found ourselves caught in the ice which was aground on the rocks. We were in a very dangerous situation, for, in order to avoid being wrecked on the coast which was but a short cannon-shot distant, we were obliged, in fourteen fathoms, to force our way through the ice with the wind east-south-east. There are two shoals a league in length, and we found, along this coast, several little islands bordered with rocks which are covered at low tide, and on which the ice-floes go aground so that they do not appear to be there, which is very deceptive. The winds afterwards changed. The currents drove us back on Salisbury, which is another island three leagues east-south-east of Nottingham. The sea ebbs there for seven hours and then rises for six. The current seems to be south-east and north-west; and these two islands are east-south-east and west-north-west.

We moored again on the 7th on the same ice, while the *Weesph* and the *Profond* remained fast in the ice alongside of Nottingham. The *Palmier* beside an iceberg had time to repair her rudder and the gorget of her bow which had been broken. There was not a vessel that had not lost some of her parts.

The currents carried us to and fro and a gentle wind supported us against those of the ebb which are much

*Europe, grappe, fait allier aux ice E. honte, sur les glaces A. Matelots, qui font la Lascagne B. Jont de L'au, d'une
 C. Châmes de pûre preste avec Eskimoes D. long Marin. E. Météoré qui jouent pour s'abaisser.*



Tom. I. page 67

AN ALLIANCE IS MADE WITH THE ESKIMOS ON THE ICE-FLOES

From Baquerville de la Poherie, *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1753), Volume I

more rapid than the flood; and instead of bringing us out into the bay, they drove us back into the strait. It is not surprising, Sir, that in a long voyage a vessel should take several wrong courses. It is due to contrary winds, but all our different variations would have been of no use while we were moored in the ice if we had not discovered, from time to time, the land to the north and to the south.

The effects which nature produces in these climes are worthy of admiration. There will arise of a sudden in the night, when everything is serene, clouds whiter than alabaster, and, although at the time there is not a breath of wind, they fly so rapidly that they assume all kinds of figures in a moment. There appears through these clouds a beautiful and dazzling light that supplies them, so to speak, with a spring that sets everything in motion. They extend like comets, then contract and vanish in a moment. It seems like a heavenly glory. The darker the nights the more marvellous the effects, and, without exaggeration, you can easily read by the light of these phenomena.¹ At times Cape Digges which, with Salisbury and Nottingham forms the end of the strait, was four or five leagues to the west-south-west, and sometimes the eastern end of it lay to the north-east one quarter north. Afterwards, we were cast athwart the Turbes islands, which the English call Green islands. They are east of Cape Digges, seventeen leagues within the strait, in latitude $62^{\circ} 55'$ and $40^{\circ} 8'$ north-west variation. At five or six leagues beyond, we saw a great point lying south by the compass and about a league and a half west of this point is French Harbour.

The currents carried us along two leagues from this

¹The Aurora.

southern coast. We discovered a great stretch of land to the south one quarter south-east by the compass. As it was foggy, we could not recognize whether it was Cape Charles; at any rate, we saw a large bay off which there was a number of smaller ones. We recognized another to the south-south-east and, after we had gone some distance from the first bay, Cape Charles then appeared to us very clearly. It is a very high point on the southern coast twenty-two leagues from Salisbury, and lies to the east while Digges lies to the west, and they are about thirty or thirty-two leagues apart. The north-east wind which was altogether favourable for passing out of the strait made us decide to ungrapple from the ice. We pushed our way among the ice-floes from four in the morning till three in the afternoon, and, after being battered severely by the ice, we sailed along three leagues from the land. We knew on the 15th, Assumption Day, by a high cape that we had again drifted some distance, finding ourselves within a league of the shore, while our other three ships almost ran aground on the rocky coast.

When we saw ourselves constantly flung from side to side without being able to make our way out of this strait, it seemed to me, Sir, that I was following the evil fate of Eneas after the burning of Troy. We were in the state of dejection of those Trojan women who embarked on the fleet of that prince and who suffered so many pains and toils without being able to arrive in Latium.

*Heu? tot vada fessis
Et tantum superesse maris, vox omnibus una
Urbem orant.*

After being carried along the coast for ten days, we found ourselves quite close to Cape Digges.

*Cum freta cum terras omnes, tot inhospita saxa,
Sydera que emensi ferimur.*

Cape Digges is too remarkable a place for me not to give you an idea of it. It lies at the extreme end of the strait with the islands of Salisbury and Nottingham, which are twelve or thirteen leagues distant from it. It is in latitude $62^{\circ} 45'$ and is called Walsingham [or Wolstenholme] by the English. There are three little islands to the west of this cape which are called Digges islands, each about a league or two in circuit, the first of which is only a league away. The cape takes their name. The Button islands which are in the entrance to the strait, lie one hundred and thirty-five leagues east-south-east and west-north-west from this cape. All this coast is very high, cut into by creeks which make deep valleys that form small harbours at the sea. It runs east and west for twenty leagues, and the other land further east runs south-east one quarter south. The coast falls, sloping towards the south, although the land that we saw was more than one hundred and thirty fathoms perpendicularly to the summit. I observed that during the flood the tide was much stronger than at the ebb, for at the former we made more than three and a half leagues whereas we only made one at the latter. The tides are much later than in all the other places we have known, up to an hour and a half in the twenty-four; for, on the 18th, when we found ourselves in this district, the tide began to drive us towards the east two hours after midday, which was the second day of the moon, and, on the 19th, it only began to move us four hours after the ebb. I

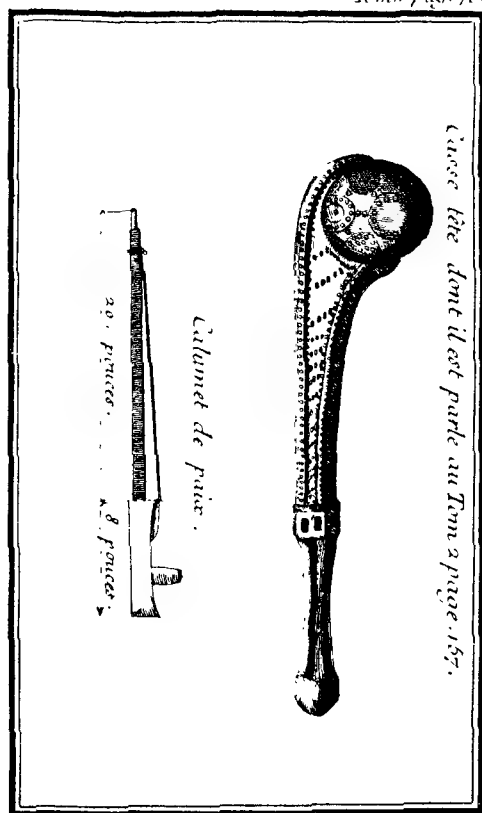
should think that the immense number of bays and rivers to the north and south emptying into this strait, contribute to the hurried movement of the flood tide; whereas this passage of twelve or thirteen leagues between Cape Digges and the islands of Salisbury and Nottingham, being choked by the ice, blocked the current from the great bay which was retarding the flood.

For quite a while we had been longing to see Eskimos. They are a very cruel people with whom, up to that time, no one had had any commercial dealings. On the 19th, however, we saw some of them on the ice, crying aloud to us from a great distance and leaping up with dresses of caribou and other skins which they were showing to us.

The opportunity was too good to be lost. Martigny, after taking all precautions not to be made their victim, embarked in a skiff with four or five well-armed men. Landing on the ice where they were, he found nine of them, with their canoe which they had drawn up on the ice. On landing, he presented the calumet to two who had come forward while the others remained at the edge of the ice.

When the Indians of North America wish to make a treaty of peace, they hold it as a maxim never to make an agreement without having been assured by presages seen beforehand that the alliance will be a harmonious one. This ceremony is variously conducted for, when the Indians who live in the south wish to announce peace, they set up in the earth a stick or a stake or send neck-laces.

Thus the calumet is something very mysterious among the savages of the north: it is the symbol of peace. It is a kind of large pipe, as Your Highness can perceive,



INDIAN TOMAHAWK AND CALUMET
OF PEACE

From Bacqueville de la Potherie, *Histoire
de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1753),
Volume I

made of red, black, or white stone. The head is well polished and made in the form of a war club. The stem is ornamented with porcupine quills and little threads of skins of various colours.

So, at this meeting, Martigny presented them with a pipe like a calumet and a tobacco-pouch, smoked for a little, and then gave them the pipe to smoke. The seven other natives, who had kept away, when they saw the good faith in which we were acting, came to him with exclamations of joy, crying out in very clear tones, leaping and rubbing their stomachs as most convincing signs of friendship and of the good trade they wished to carry on with us. He gave them a knife and they presented him with a dress of skins. They gave him to understand that they were well enough off to trade. But, as we wished to have them on our ship, he told them he had nothing and asked them to come with him. But no matter how he insisted and welcomed them, they would not trust him. Martigny finally lay down on the ice to indicate that he would give himself as a hostage on condition that one of them would be sent. They wished to have two for one, and Grandville, a marine guard, remained also as a hostage.

When the Eskimo was at the top of the ladder of our ship, he saw one of our men dressed in black, of whom he was so much afraid that he hesitated whether to throw himself into the sea. The man, seeing his terror, offered him a knife, after which he decided to come aboard. On finding himself surrounded by a crowd of the crew, he did not seem at all put out but kept dancing and crying out in amazement at a machine which seemed to him so surprising. But, when he saw the fire burning in the kitchen, he gave a dreadful cry, not being able to

conceive how such a flame should not cause a conflagration. For, as far as we could conjecture, these people must rarely warm themselves at a fire for there was not an inch of soil in the strait, nor the smallest shrub. If they make a fire, they must burn the fat of seals and walruses. We gave a pie to the Eskimo! He did his utmost to show his gratitude. I think there is no other nation that speaks faster. His accent resembled the Basque; he hardly opened his teeth, and yet he articulated quite distinctly. They gave him a small piece of bread which he slipped adroitly under his chin, between his coat and his skin, pretending to eat it. We pretended not to notice, and we saw that he was afraid of being poisoned. We ate of another piece which we gave him and he ate it afterwards. We neglected to taste a glass of wine, which he poured again under his chin. We had to drink some and to taste beforehand everything we wished to give him. The sound of a silver fork pleased him so much that he hid it very cunningly between a piece of pie and a bit of bread. I embarked with him, and, when we had arrived on the ice where his comrades were, they all crowded around me, crying out and jumping. I made them several presents, and, willy-nilly, they insisted on stripping themselves naked in order to give me their clothes, and I was anxious to know if they were sensitive to the cold. They had good figures, carrying themselves well, and appearing vigorous and very muscular. Their skin was very white, their legs well shaped, their faces swarthy and dry, which is due to the great cold. Their teeth are very large and very dirty, their hair black with a tuft above the forehead, and they have beards, a fact which is very peculiar, for in general the savages both of the north and of the

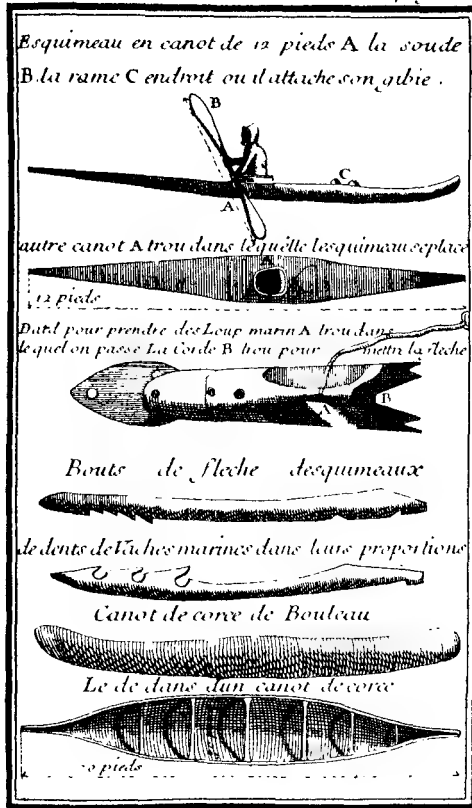
warm countries do not have beards. Their body garment is like a canon's domino with sleeves, and comes down below their waists. It is made of the skins of animals, such as the bear, the seal, and the caribou, and of the skins of guillemots, which are sea-birds, sewn with marvellous neatness (our sempstresses do not approach them) with very fine threads of the sinews of animals. Their needles seem to be made of the bones of fishes. Their breeches are the same with bands of ermine and other skins. For shoes they wear first a stocking of skin with the fur inside, and a boot of the same, and then a second stocking and another boot, so that their legs look almost as large as their bodies. This does not hinder them from being very agile. They use arrows, the ends of which are armed with walrus ivory and pointed with iron. Some English ships must have been wrecked on their coast.

The reception we gave them led them to send two others on board with hostages. They met with as agreeable a reception as the first. They stripped themselves as bare as my hand, and I observed that, when looked at in this condition, they had a sense of modesty. They were given knee-breeches and they showed no sign of suffering from cold. Yet they had to go three leagues to get to the Digges islands. One of them, as he was going, gave me a piece of the raw flesh of a sea-fowl which I had to eat in his presence. He gave a cry of joy, and, at the same time, sucked a raw beef heart which we had given to him. Their canoes are made of sealskin, cured and well oiled, twelve or fourteen feet long, sometimes twenty, two feet wide in the middle, drawing three to four inches of water, all the top covered except a hole in the middle in which they place themselves, and which has a rim around it five or six inches wide. About this

they adjust a skin like a purse with such nicety that, no matter how great a storm may arise, no water can enter it. For rowing they use a paddle four [eight] feet long, which they hold by the middle, and, moving it on the right and the left in turn, they go so quickly that there are no seas on which they will not venture and no row-boats which can overtake them. When they find their way blocked by the ice, they carry the canoe on their shoulders till they find water. When they left us to go home, they promised to bring us canoes, and, as they were going away, they uttered cries of joy with which the sea resounded as long as they were in sight.

Two others came in the afternoon with deliberate purpose to the ice-field where we were hunting. These also traded their clothing for knives, scissors, needles, bells, farthings, playing cards, old sheet music, and, in general, everything we gave them was precious to them. As these people have no trade with anybody, they did not bring any skins, but they must have the finest furs in the world in those regions. There are a great many white bears. Two or three times we went hunting several of them which had injured themselves more than four leagues away. They are very dangerous, leaping from floe to floe, and even attacking the canoes by putting their fore paws upon them so as to overturn them. So we carried axes along with us.

The arrival of these two Eskimos led me to make several observations. One of them was twenty-two or twenty-three years of age and very well built. He had a very happy countenance and his face wore an air of innocence.



ESKIMO TRAITS

From Bacqueville de la Potherie, *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1753), Volume I

There are a great many sea-birds¹ [guillemots] in all these regions. They were of great service to us for food as our own supply of poultry had all died in the cold of the straits. While we were moored between Cape Digges and Salisbury, there was a continual movement of them past our vessel. In the morning, they would leave the cape to go and catch small fish at Salisbury which they would bring back in the evening to their little ones on the ice. We killed a surprising number of them. These birds are as large as ducks, they have a white belly, their back and wings are black, and their beak is like a crow's. They are unable to walk as their feet turn outwards, and they have their young on the ice.

Although we were at the entrance of the bay, we could not get into it. All the ice in that vast body of water was passing out into this strait. The continual movements of the icebergs in the current forced us also to take a capricious course. We were carried along to the Digges islands. I observed that, when we were five or six leagues from them, towards the west, on August 21, the currents bore out to sea towards the east; and, on the contrary, when we approached the land they bore towards the west. And, as I said, the flood tide has more force along the land than the ebb, but, when we were six leagues out to sea, the ebb had much more force than the flood.

At the time when we expected to get out of the strait, the currents drove our ship back more than eight leagues into the strait by a great circuit that it compelled us to make while we were fast in the ice. Here we found ourselves alongside the others who had been carried

¹Guillemots congregate in vast numbers on the cliffs in the vicinity of Cape Digges. They hatch their young on the ledges on the sides of the cliffs and not on the ice as suggested by the author.

along close to the land to the same spot.

*Dum per mare magnum
Italiam sequimur fugientem, et volvitur undis.*

Finally a fog arose which was dissipated by the east-south-east wind. We slipped our cable at four in the morning of August 25, and made all sail through the ice because we were quite a distance behind the other three ships which were at the end of the strait, and we were anxious to join them. But the more we advanced the more the fog rose, and the currents carried the other ships more than five leagues into the strait where they remained alone, while we finally found the bay which was quite free from ice.

The three other ships were obliged to make fast a league from Cape Digges. When the fog began to clear, the *Profond* saw three vessels. Dugué, who was in command, thought at first that they were the three ships of our squadron. They came up to him gradually with the currents. He was surprised to see such a sudden change, for they were three English ships of fifty-six, thirty-six, and thirty-two guns. He ungrappled immediately and ran at all hazards into a field of ice rather than surrender, for he had on board all our munitions and provisions for the Fort Nelson expedition. The English gave chase. Serigny and Charrier wanted to go to his assistance but they were fast in the ice. The *Profond* was also fast with the *Dering* and the *Hudson's Bay*. Then, on August 26, at about nine in the morning, the battle began. Dugué attacked them; the enemy riddled him with balls, cutting his rigging in pieces, because he could only fight with two cannon which had been placed in the rear of the gunroom. St. Aubin, the

King's pilot, Jourdain, and Vivien, who were all three acting as officers, distinguished themselves especially.

The *Hampshire* of fifty-six guns was not able to join the other English ships till the evening. After ten hours of intermittent fighting, all three fired broadsides at the *Profond* and left her, thinking she was certain to go down. Four men were killed on the *Profond*. The English must also have lost some, because several human arms were found on the ice. As to our own ship, we were not in this glorious battle, which may be said to have been the first sea fight ever waged amid the ice.

The currents then had brought the *Pelican* out alone into the bay, and the sailors had reason to be pleased at seeing themselves freed from the ice. A fresh breeze arose which helped us greatly.

*Jubet ocius omnes
Attolli malos, intendi brachia velis.*

M. d'Iberville had the topsails hoisted at once. The crew was quick to obey. Each sailor tried to be the first in doing his duty. Some hauled the tack of the mainsail, others hauled aft the sheets and the mizen. Some braced the topsails, others the sprit-sail.

*Una omnes fecere pedem, pariterque sinistros
Nunc dextros solvere sinus: una ardua Torquent,
Cornua, detorquentque.*

The first land you sight in the bay, on the proper route towards Fort Nelson, is the island of Phéliepeaux, called Mansfield by the English, which, running from the north, is in 62° 56'', twenty-nine leagues from Cape Digges, lying west one quarter south-west. It is flat and about twenty-nine leagues long by nine or ten wide.

There are many walruses in these parts, with teeth whiter than ivory. They never get yellow.

The wind, which kept increasing, drove us towards North Cape,¹ which is in $63^{\circ} 55'$. It is one of the highest lands we have seen and may be descried at a distance of fifteen or twenty leagues. It lies north-west one quarter west corrected from Cape Digges, from which it is thirty-seven leagues distant, and fifty-five from Nottingham. It is the highest elevation of land we have in the north. I do not think you can go any further in North America unless you want to run the risk of seeing the world's end or of entering into the west of the Strait of David [? Davis' strait], which they say has communication with Japan.

It may well be said that these seas have something dreadful about them. If Horace had known of them he would have given his friend Valguis a more terrible description of them than he gave of the Caspian, which, in his day, passed for the most dangerous sea. In fact Pomponius Mela says that it is altogether frightful, cruel, devoid of harbours, exposed on all sides to storms, more infested with monsters than all other seas, and for that very reason less navigable than they.

Permit me, Sir, to finish here this long letter and to apologize for having kept you from many more important engagements. Your time is too precious for you not to be angry at having wasted it over a letter which may, perchance, have wearied you.

I am

Sir,

with devotion,

Your very obedient, &c.

¹This is doubtless a point on the east end of Bell island, which is the south-eastern extremity of Southampton island



ESKIMOS

From Bacqueville de la Potherie, *Histoire
de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1753),
Volume I

LETTER IV

Battle of the "Pelican" against the "Hampshire" of fifty-six, the "Dering" of thirty-six, and the "Hudson's Bay" of thirty-two Guns. Victory won over these three Ships. The "Pelican" wrecked by the Storm. Bombardment and Capture of Fort Nelson.

Dear Cousin,

THERE are few people who do not make a merit of praising their native land. I should have had matter enough in describing the wars against the Caribs which took place in our own island of Guadeloupe of which my cousin, your father, was lord and governor, if destiny had not removed me from it for several years. Our countrymen have at least had the satisfaction of following in his footsteps, which served to guide them.

You desire me to communicate to you some of the tragic events which happened during my voyage, but which have redounded all the more to the glory of the royal arms.

We are not born for ourselves, and nothing is more glorious than to die for one's country. Whoever loves his prince should only long for his glory, and one is only too happy to be able to sacrifice his life in the King's service.

The situation in which I found myself, along with some officers, where the honour of the King's arms was at stake, gave us occasion to cherish these sentiments. If, on the one hand, chance has preserved us, on the other, we were prepared to immolate all that was dearest to us. Honour required us to maintain the glory of the

King on an occasion when it was a case of victory or death. It was our fortune to win the former, but our good luck was almost immediately reversed by the most cruel of nature's elements. And, though it obliged us to yield and to save ourselves sword in hand, in the midst of the waves, it had no effect upon our firmness, since we made it plain in the sequel that everything is possible when it is a question of His Majesty's service. Here is how the affair took place.

On September 3, 1697, we arrived within sight of Fort Nelson (or Bourbon), from which the English fired some cannon-shots, which were apparently signals for the ships they were expecting from England. We anchored three leagues and a half to the south-west one quarter west of this fort,¹ in the open sea, which had a bottom of muddy sand. We were surprised not to find there the *Palmier*, the *Weesph*, and the *Profond*, which naturally ought to have arrived before us, as they had been off the cape while we were still detained in the ice.

At day-break on the 5th, we perceived three vessels to leeward that we took to be ours. After weighing anchor about seven in the morning, we sailed down on them and made signals to which they made no response. This made us think they were English, and so they were, being the *Hampshire* of fifty-six guns and two hundred and fifty men, the *Dering* of thirty-six guns, and the *Hudson's Bay* of thirty-two.

The combat was not at all an equal one. Nevertheless, we made the English recognize in the sequel that the King's arms could be immortalized with as much honour

¹He evidently intended to say that the fort was south-west one quarter west from the *Pelican*, which would place that ship three or four miles off the mouth of Fourteen river. The position given in the text would place the ship three and a half leagues inland.

and glory in the seas of ice as in the other remotest parts of the earth. As it is prudent to be always on guard against being the victim of one's enemies, we were quite ready to receive their attack. Our strength was but mediocre, for a launch with twenty-two men, under Martigny and Villeneuve, the ship's ensign, had gone ashore to get news from the Indians as to the arrival of the English in their fort, and as to the number of the garrison. We had forty men sick of scurvy who could do nothing, and twenty-seven sailors had been transferred to the *Profond* when we were leaving Placentia, not to mention those who had died on the voyage, so that we had only one hundred and fifty combatants out of the two hundred and fifty with which we had left France, and forty-four mounted guns, having given two others to the *Profond*.

Every man was at his post. La Salle, the ship's ensign, and Grandville, a marine guard, commanded the lower battery; Bienville, the brother of M. d'Iberville, and the Chevalier de Ligondez, a marine guard, the upper battery. M. d'Iberville asked me to take command of the forecastle and, with a detachment of Canadians that he gave me, to meet the enemy as they tried to come on board.

The enemy drew up in line. The *Hampshire* was at the head, the *Dering* followed, and the *Hudson's Bay* came behind, all three close together. The fight began at half past nine in the morning. We made straight for the *Hampshire*, which, thinking we were going to board her, let fall her mainsail and shook out her topsails. After this refusal, we went to the *Dering* and cut the tackle of her mainsail, and, the *Hudson's Bay* coming in front, we sent her the rest of our broadside. The *Hamp-*

shire, putting about to windward, fired a volley of musketry on our forecastle and sent a broadside of grape of which two shots went into the water, another struck our bowsprit, cut the arms and the halliards of our foretopsail, a back stay of our top gallant mast, and our mizzen stay. The fight grew stubborn, the three vessels keeping up a continual fire on us, with the object of dismasting our ship. They destroyed a great deal of our rigging, the recital of which would be tedious. The *Hampshire*, seeing that she could not engage us between a shoal and their own two vessels, and that all the efforts they had made during two hours and a half were useless, determined to run us down, and, for that purpose, tried to get to windward of us (which she was unable to do), but we ran alongside of her, yard-arm to yard-arm. As we were so close to each other, I ordered a volley of musketry to be fired at her forecastle, where there were many sailors who called out for us to leap aboard. They immediately returned our volley with a discharge of grape which cut nearly all our rigging in pieces and wounded many of our men. As they ran along by our ship, we fired our batteries which were so well aimed that they proved most effective, for we were no sooner separated from one another than the *Hampshire* immediately foundered under sail. The *Dering*, which was close to us, sent us her broadside, but the encounter was a cruel catastrophe for the English, because the *Hudson's Bay* lowered her flag, and the *Dering* took to flight. We had fourteen men wounded by two discharges of shot from the last broadside of the *Hampshire*, which fell in the lower battery, among them the Chevalier de Ligondez, who showed all the courage and resolution that could be desired. The other officers also did their duty per-

fectly. We had seven shots below the surface and the water came pouring in, not to speak of several shots which passed through from side to side.

If anyone else had been in command of this post, I should say of him what modesty forbids me to tell of myself. All the naval men of Rochefort have admitted that this battle was one of the severest during the present war. We were so overwhelmed with their musketry fire and the discharges of grape-shot which they fired at us from pistol range, that our mizzen mast was filled with musket balls on all sides to the height of ten or twelve feet; and, if I had not looked after my men, especially when I saw the enemy firing their cannons, we should not have had four people left on the forecastle. I got off very cheaply myself with having my close coat all tattered, and my cap pierced by a ball. The Canadian carbineer, who was standing by me, had his elbow smashed, St. Martin had his hand broken, and, not to go into details as to all my wounded, I was the one who came off best in this respect.

I believe I should not have been sorry to appear before M. de Pontchartrain with my arm in a sling. Such a sight is indeed striking, but, if these visible signs decide an officer's courage, I was in as good condition and with as much coolness after the battle as when M. d'Iberville bade us enter the lists, except that one would have mistaken me for a veritable blackamoor, my face was so peppered with powder. I think the English took me, when they came aboard, for some prince of Guinea, for I heard someone crying out: "Fire at that fine looking darkey from Guinea."

We gave chase to the *Dering*, and we should have captured her if we had not, three days before, had our

main-yard broken in half by a squall. Our prize, the *Hudson's Bay*, which was a league distant, might have got away into the mouth of the river Pennechiouetchiou, or Ste. Thérèse, on which Fort Nelson is situated. We put about, and, after having put a prize crew on board, we went towards the *Hampshire* in order to save her sailors. We found that she had stranded on the shoal where the enemy had wished to engage us, and the weather became so rough after the battle that it was impossible for us to lower a boat. We had no shallop because it had not been able to get back from its reconnaissance. We anchored close by the *Hampshire* with the chagrin of being unable to aid her in so dangerous and unfortunate a situation. Neither could the *Hudson's Bay* do so. The latter had a cargo for the trading-post at Fort Nelson, which would have been worth 50,000 crowns in beaver skins, and the *Dering* was bound for Fort Kichichouanne at the lower end of the bay.

I learned from our prisoners that there were one hundred men on board the *Hampshire*, and the *Dering* for the garrison of these forts; and that a fireship had been crushed by the ice in the straits. On the 6th, we sent a mortar and bombs on board the *Hudson's Bay* in the hope of forcing her to go up the river Ste. Thérèse.

The east-north-east wind, which was then blowing, kept getting stronger and stronger. A frightful sea arose, driving us steadily towards the shore till the next morning between nine and ten o'clock, when our rudder struck bottom a couple of times. The flood tide began to rise, slight hope for people whose fate seemed so cruel. We were obliged to cut our cable at midday so as to make sail, and drove before the wind till four o'clock in the afternoon. The bitter cold, the snow, and the ice which

covered our rigging were cruel obstacles. As we could not reach the shore, we anchored in nine fathoms of water. Our anchors held till nine in the evening, when the great anchor broke. I cannot express to you the sad state of the crew. Some were suffering with disease. The very strongest were in desperate straits. It was night, and the horror of darkness was added to the fear of death. The tossing and the disorder reacted quickly upon people in so downcast a state, and when the panic spread we could not reassure them. In this deplorable condition, I thought more than once of what Horace said with so much reason, although he had never found himself in so cruel a situation.

*Illi robur, et oes triplex,
Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem,
Truci commisit, pelago ratem,
Primus, nec timuit praecipitem Africum,
Decertantem aquilonibus,
Nec tristes Hyadas, nec rabiem noti.*

The vessel was headed into the wind; the kedge anchor and a cable broke. As the small anchor could not hold, we had to cut the cable. A wave swept off our stern galley, and broke the table and benches which were in the main cabin. At ten o'clock in the evening, our rudder was carried away and we thought ourselves utterly lost. As the tide rose, our ship, which was drawn along in the current, imperceptibly went aground. All these various movements made the hair of the most careless stand on end. Finally, about midnight, the ship split along the middle of the keel, and filled with water above the between-decks. We spent the night in this wretched state, and, at day-break, we saw the land two leagues away.

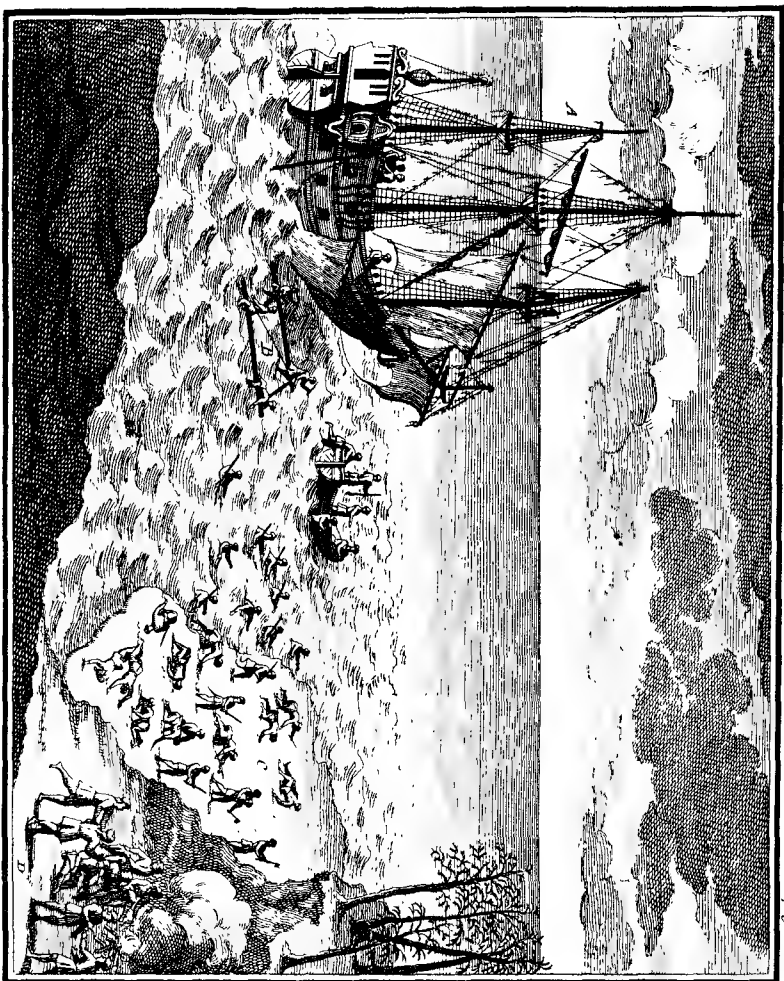
In our cruel situation we did not lose hope of saving our lives. M. d'Iberville, who had all the forethought possible in such a catastrophe, was bent on saving his crew. He begged me to take the canoe and try where we could make a landing in some safety.¹

We had not only to save our lives, but to maintain the glory which we had achieved two days before; and as to dying, it was better to sacrifice our lives at the foot of the bastions of Fort Nelson than to languish in a wood where there was already a foot of snow. So, on September 8, the Nativity of the Virgin, I embarked in a canoe with some Canadians, and, after we had leapt into the sea which was up to our shoulders, with our muskets, powder-horns on our heads, and some balls, I sent the canoe back to the ship. Meanwhile, rafts and floats were being made to save the sick. Martigny came too with a skiff. We drew ourselves as well as we could out of the water, which was extremely cold.

For all my vigour and presence of mind, I felt myself suffering keenly, and, as I was utterly exhausted, I wished to find somewhere to rest. I was suddenly overcome with hunger which forced me, in my despair, to eat the weeds floating on the sea. I longed, Sir, more than once, for that repose which the same poet describes as wished for by those who are surprised by a frightful storm.

*Otium divos rogat in patenti,
Prencus Ægeo, simul atra nubis,
Condidit lunam, neque certa fulgent,
Sydera nautis.*

¹The rising tide invariably causes a strong current to flow up into the mouth of Nelson river. This current doubtless carried the *Pelican* up with it, until she struck on the flats at the mouth of this river, where she was wrecked. The crew probably got ashore near the west end of the trail from Nelson river to York Factory, where the higher land comes to the bank of the river.



Tom. I. pag. 100

A Le Pelican perdue à l'écueil de terre, B (l'épave) pour sauver les malades, C Bataille de l'écueil de terre, D camp de guerre,

THE WRECK OF THE PELICAN

From Baqueville de la Pothe, *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1753), Volume I

After having crossed more than a league of sea, we came to a snow bank more than two feet thick under which was mud. Our passage was very rough and cost the lives of eighteen soldiers who died of cold, and I myself should have succumbed but for the help of some Canadians who found me lying on the snow.

M. Fiche-Maurice de Kieri [Kerry], of the family of my Lord Kerry in Ireland, who was our chaplain, assisted with much kindness several of our people who had not strength enough to drag themselves along. He did not leave them till they had reached the wood.

We had reason to fear that the English would lay a trap for us, for they saw our ship perish and they might be eyewitnesses of our landing on their territory since we were only two leagues from the fort.

We encamped in a wood and made great fires which were of much service to us, for we were all without any other clothing than jackets which were very light, and which were dripping from our ship-wreck.

The next day, we left this camp (which we called Camp Mercy) and crossed over a marsh which would have been impassable for horses. This march lasted for more than a league and a half, and then we made another camp at a place we called the "Outpost." I forgot to state that the *Hudson's Bay* had met the same fate as ourselves, having foundered eight leagues further south.

In the meantime, the *Palmier*, the *Weesph*, and the *Profond* arrived at the mouth of the river Ste. Thérèse. The first had lost her rudder in the Manitousibi, or Danish river, which is forty leagues to the west of this, having been steered these forty leagues with oars and outriggers. They were very fortunate that they had

not anchored with us for they would have suffered the same fate.

We broke camp again on the 11th before day-break and made a third encampment within a cannon-shot of the fort, in underbrush, which we called Camp Bourbon. Being in an advanced post, I had a fire made, for the weather was severe. The smoke drew on us several cannon-shots through the trees. I had more fires made so that the English might suppose that we were going to entrench ourselves there, and thus it would be easier for our men to defile along the river. The dark weather which prevailed at the time caused the fort to appear further off than it really was. Shortly afterwards, we began to skirmish, taking advantage of several small streams and of some burnt tree trunks. There was much firing on both sides. The falconets, and the cannon that fired grape-shot had plenty of exercise.

M. d'Iberville went to reconnoitre the place about eleven o'clock in the morning. We could not manage it without drawing the musket fire of the English, and they would have fired grape-shot at us if we had not defiled by narrow paths. We kept under cover till we were almost at the foot of the fort. Then Iberville sent for Martigny and ordered him to go and demand two Iroquois and two Frenchmen whom he knew to be in this place for they had not been able to get away last year before it had been captured by the English from the Canadians. When Martigny arrived with the white flag at the gates of the fort, the governor had his eyes bandaged and had him led into the place. He held a council of war. It was decided that the four men could not be given up under such circumstances. Some of the men from the *Hudson's Bay* had taken refuge in the fort after their

ship-wreck, and this had strengthened the garrison. Captain Semithsend [*sic*] who was commander of this ship, had enough authority to be able to create any impression he wished among the garrison. He believed that M. d'Iberville had been killed in the battle. He knew that, after the capture of his own ship, we had sent a prize crew of fifteen on board, and, being convinced that almost all our men had been killed in the fight, he imagined that we were attempting to take the fort like desperate men. It is true that, except for the powder we had saved from the wreck and which enabled us to kill some game, we should have been forced to live on grass until our other vessels arrived.

That afternoon we set up a mortar battery in the wood two hundred paces from the fort, without letting the enemy become aware of what we were doing. When the platform was almost finished, they heard the noise of two or three blows of a sledge-hammer upon some nails, which quickly brought upon us three cannon-shots, one of which came near killing M. d'Iberville, and the other two came so close to me that we found one ball only four feet from me. When this work was completed, we returned to the camp. They fired cannon into our refuge, as we had been obliged to pass along by the river where they could easily see us.

We spent the rest of the day in disembarking our munitions and provisions. The *Weesph* sent the mortar in a shallop under command of Chevalier Montalambert de Serre of the marine guards. He is a gentleman who is in love with his profession. He has the honour of being related to the Marquis de Vilete. We landed this mortar and, some time after, placed it on its battery. The enemy kept firing during this disembarkation on both

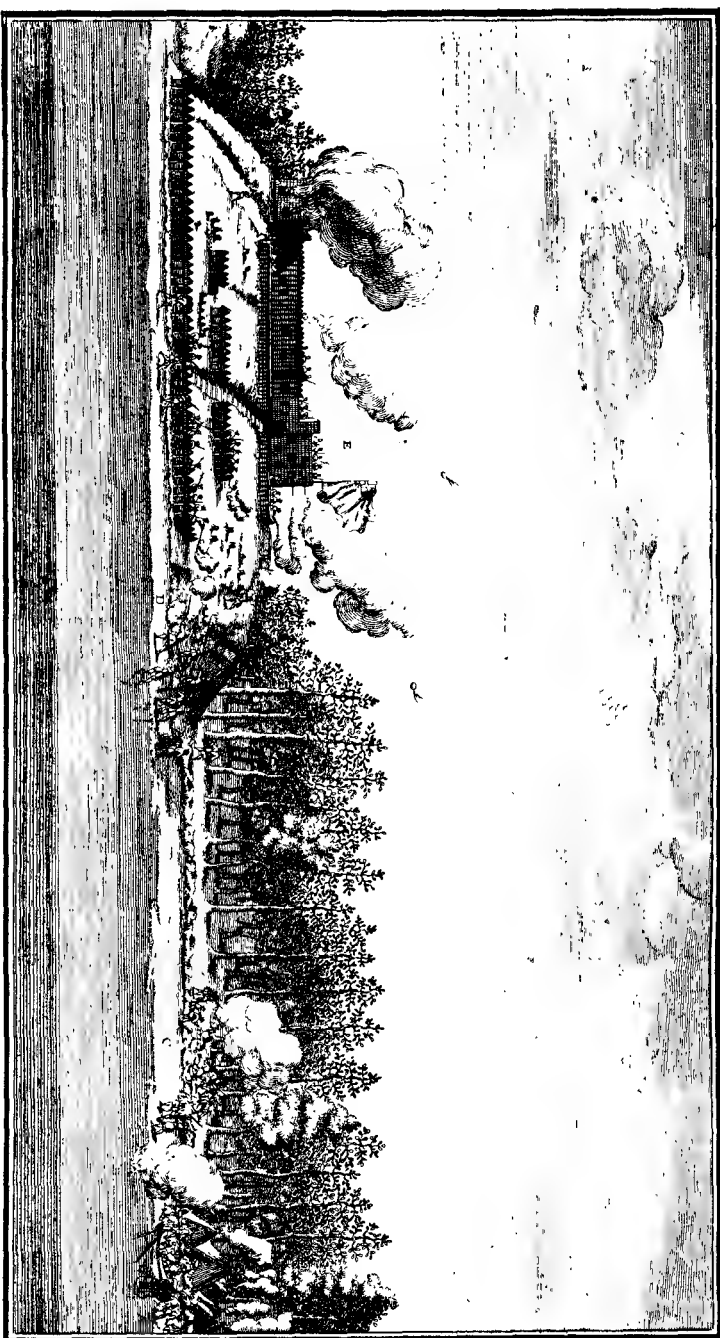
the camp and the shallops.

On the night between the 11th and the 12th, we cut off the English who were going to and fro to fetch the sailors of the *Hudson's Bay*, who kept arriving every now and then. The clerk of the London Company was killed in this encounter, and, on the 12th, there was another skirmish which lasted a couple of hours.

We began our bombardment of the fort at ten in the morning. When we saw the third bombshell fall at the base of the fort, Serigny went to summon the governor to surrender. The latter declared that he did not wish to have his throat cut, and that he preferred to see the place burned rather than give it up. He admitted that there was no chance of his receiving any aid from England, and that, if he were forced to capitulate, it would be due to his bad luck. We learned afterwards that he gave every encouragement to his garrison, promising them an increase of pay. We fired some more bombs at them.

We began anew between one and two o'clock. They kept up a continual fire on us with cannon and with two mortars. They had very able cannoneers. They had nothing but the sound of our bombs to enable them to conjecture where we were, because the thick copse, in which our battery was, prevented them from getting an accurate knowledge of its position. This did not prevent two of their cannon-balls from hitting the parapet and another from covering us with earth. Our skirmishers became more and more impetuous, and St. Martin, a Canadian, was mortally wounded. Our bombs seemed to be having some effect, judging from the *Sassa Koués*¹ with which our Canadians filled the air, for, while

¹War-whoops and shouts of joy after the fashion of the Indians of Canada.



A Dérivés des Montagnes de guerre et de Ruine. B. Camp de Bouchon C. Monté au-dessus de la Route D. Escamotage E. Fort de Nelson

THE BOMBARDMENT OF FORT NELSON

From Baquerville de la Porcherie, *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1753), Volume I

we were bombarding the enemy, the Canadians were harassing them in a skirmish. Serigny summoned the English again at four o'clock and told the governor that it would be the last time he would do so. We had resolved to make a general assault, and, if he should then make any proposals, they would not be received. Serigny even assured him that, although the season would not allow our ships to remain more than ten or twelve days, forces would be left more than sufficient to capture the fort in the winter. I assure you, Sir, that, if any accident had happened to the ships that we left in the straits which might have prevented their arrival at the fort, there would have been nothing else for us to do. The despair that would have seized us at being forced to live like beasts in the woods would have compelled us to go to extremities. We had resolved to storm the fort that night. We had surrounded it for that purpose, and with storming axes we would have cut down their palisades and bastions, and they might have expected that, had we stormed them sword in hand, they would have had no chance of escape.

Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem.

The governor told Serigny that he was not wholly his own master and that he would give him an answer at sundown. We did not cease setting up the battery of Phéliepeaux on the south-south-west side, which would have thrown them into utter disorder, but, at six o'clock, the governor sent Mr. Morison to bring a capitulation, in which he asked for all the beavers that belonged to the London Company. I was willing to act as interpreter, but I soon saw that I was wasting my Latin on this minister who could scarcely decline *Musa*. I was not surprised at it afterwards as there are very few

Scottish ministers who know Latin. This proposal was too advantageous for people who were at our mercy, and our gentle dealing with them was rather due to our natural French generosity. So we refused their demand. The minister returned with Caumont, who was acting as major. He had orders to learn from Mr. Bailey, governor of the fort, if he would accept the prescribed conditions, and, in case he was inclined to do so, to demand that he should send us three hostages. They held a council of war, and at eight p.m. the governor sent Mr. Henry Kelsey, a King's lieutenant and the deputy governor, with a letter in which he asked to be allowed to retain two mortars and four cannon (five-pounders), which they had brought last year from England. We would not let them have these. Finally, on the next day, the 13th, the governor sent us three hostages to tell us that he would surrender the place and to ask permission to evacuate it at an hour after midday.

The orders I had received from M. Bégon, when leaving Rochefort, to act in concert with M. d'Iberville if any enterprise should be attempted on land, made it necessary for me to enter first into this fort. The governor at the head of the garrison and part of the crew of the *Hudson's Bay* left it an hour after with drums beating, muskets loaded, matches lighted, banner waving (they had lowered it very quickly at the third bombshell we had fired at them, perceiving that we were using it as a target), and their arms and baggage. Boisbriant, the ensign of the Company in Canada, met them at the head of the Canadians.

I noticed that, although the fort was small, almost all our bombs had fallen at its base, and, of twenty-two which we had fired, four had fallen inside, two in the

south-south-west bastion, which had blown up with the smithy, the third carried away a gallery outside a barrack, and the fourth, falling on the platform, had wounded several people.

This fort is in $57^{\circ} 30''$ north latitude. It is the last place in North America. It has the form of a trapezium, flanked by three and a half bastions. One is on the north, the second east-south-east, the third south-south-west. The one on the north and the demi-bastion are joined by a covered way. In the north bastion, there were four four-pounders and a falconet which had bothered us a great deal. In that of the east-south-east, there were two four-pounders on a platform, on which was a mortar and two eight-pound guns. In that on the south-south-west, which was destroyed by our two shells, there was a falconet and a four-pounder. Between this and the one on the east-south-east, there was a curtain running along the river, in which there were ten eight-pounders, four of them of brass. In the middle of the place, there was a mortar of brass and a platform surrounding a barrack, on which there were six one-pounders. In the demi-bastion were three four-pound cannons and a falconet. In a word, the fort contained two mortars of brass and thirty-four cannons, to say nothing of seven other small pieces of one pound which were on the right and the left, and several swivel-guns.

The situation of the country seems agreeable enough, all covered with copses and very marshy; elsewhere the land is sterile. The cold begins from the month of June [*sic*]. There is no mean between the cold and the heat at this season, when the heat is excessive and the cold is piercing. The winds from the north, which come from the sea, disperse the heat, and you perspire with heat in the

morning and are frozen in the evening. It rarely rains. The air is pure and clear almost all the winter. It even snows comparatively little, nine feet at the most [*sic*]. I assure you, Sir, that the merit of the missionary is great who joins the missions in those regions. I have heard tell of Father Gabriel Marest, the Jesuit, who came in the *Poli* in 1694. His zeal in working for the salvation of sailors during their wintering was great, but that which inspired him to preach the true God to the Indians in that clime was still greater. How many trials and sufferings he endured! Crossing streams and little rivers up to his waist in those severe seasons was one of the least of his troubles. Marshes full of mud and dirt were his easiest roads. It matters little what one's state is when it is a question of the glory of God. These things have their effect even on the very Indians, since they recognize that the only reason for seeking them out is a disinterested one, and that this man of God came into their wigwams in the spirit of charity. They listened to him and they loved him. He made it a joy to sacrifice everything in order to acquaint them with the knowledge of the true God. His teachings impressed their minds and, after having had some taste of what he taught them, they besought him to come to see them. It means much for an idolater when he opens his eyes to get rid of the darkness of his ignorance. And when this holy man perceived that they had some inclination to become Christians, he used every effort to teach them the first elements of the faith. They often saw him harassed with fatigue and wretchedness. He went through the snow, he sank in the ice which broke under his feet and from which he could hardly extricate himself, and, despite the unbearable cold which most of the time hollows the

cheeks and freezes the noses and ears of those who expose themselves too long to the open air, he looked upon all these obstacles as attractions which brought nearer to his heart the interests of the Lord's house. It would not be unreasonable to attribute to him those words of the prophet Isaiah: *Factus est in corde meo quasi ignis aestuans in visceribus meis*. Although this country is so cold, Divine Providence has not failed to provide for the subsistence of its inhabitants. The rivers are full of fish. The game is plentiful. There are such great numbers of partridge that it would appear incredible if I were to assert that one might kill fifteen to twenty thousand of them in a year. They are entirely white almost all the year round, as large as hens and much more delicate than the partridges in Europe. Their feet are rough, and, in the month of August, their wings are partly grey with several red spots.

The wild geese and ducks are so plentiful in spring and autumn that the banks of the river Ste. Thérèse are all covered with them. The wild goose is very good to eat, being very like duck but much larger and different in taste. Caribou are to be seen almost all the year, but especially in spring and autumn, in herds of seven to eight hundred. Their flesh is more delicate than that of a deer. When a hunter kills one outright, the others all stop without being frightened at the sound of fire-arms, but, if the caribou is only wounded, he runs swiftly away, followed by all the rest.

There is much fine peltry, such as very black martens, black foxes, otters, bears, wolves, whose skin is very fine, and, above all, beavers which have the best fur in all Canada. I had the skins that were in the fort put on board the *Albemarle*. As our pilots were not well ac-

quainted with the river, this vessel ran on a little rock which made a hole in her. There was a panic among our own people and the English who were on board. The bark filled with water. They tried to lighten her by jettying many cases and packages. It was a very dark night. Some threw themselves into the water, others, in trying to get safely to land, found themselves fast in the mud.

These, Sir, are the most outstanding events which have happened to us in less than twenty days that we spent in those parts, which did not fail to keep us busy.

I am with devotion,

Sir,

Your very humble, &c.

LETTER V

Manners of the Indians who come to trade at Fort Nelson.

Sir,

I HAVE known few soldiers fonder of reading than you are. You have been able to manage your reading and your sword at the same time all your life. Your long services to the King have given you a position in the world as one of his oldest and most faithful servitors, and your esteem for those who are not content with idleness after performing their duty to the prince, should make it a pleasure for them to converse with you on learned subjects, or on matters which come from overseas. I have met with many such since I had the honour of seeing you in Flanders. I must, therefore, give you some particular account of my travels.

The pleasure of travel tends to broaden the mind. The variety of seeing different countries gives an agreeable diversity to our ideas. This succession of new sights broadens our outlook, and, when a man is lucky enough to be in civilized climes, he ought to study the good manners of the people. The polish, which he thus acquires from all the best that he meets with, ought, at the same time, to inspire him with noble sentiments, and, when he has judiciously discerned the good and the evil in what he sees, he must be looked upon as a man quite above the common. Virtue above all things should be his, for what boots it for him to know the good manners of others if he does not apply himself to the task of imitating them? Otherwise he would travel only with an empty curiosity, which would leave nothing in his mind but some vague idea of what he had seen.

As for us seamen who go and come on our voyages, we do not enjoy the pleasures of the sea. The ocean and the sky, which are continually before our eyes, make only an impression of distaste upon our imaginations, but, as soon as we arrive in distant countries, we seem to be breathing a more satisfactory air.

As I have found nothing agreeable in this journey and seen only sad and painful things, I have consoled myself by the serious reflections I have made on the particular things I have seen. I have made some study of the manners of some of the nations who come to trade at Fort Nelson, and I have been much affected by the unfortunate condition of these people. They are men like ourselves, not devoid of good sense, and capable of receiving with more readiness than many others an impression of the true faith.

The climate of these regions, naturally cold, makes

the country sterile and unfruitful, which obliges most of these savages to roam about in order to find a living. Some of them, however, have villages. Their tents are made of branches of trees covered with caribou skins, with an opening above for the smoke to escape. They spread beaver skins over pine branches to serve as beds. They live almost as people did in the Golden Age:

*Sylvestrem montana thorum cum sterneret uxor
Frondebis et culmo vicinarumque ferarum, Pellibus.*

The father provides the necessaries of life. He rises at day-break and sets out for the chase. When he finds a good place to pitch a camp he leaves a number of branches, which shows that he wishes the family to stop there. Then the wife follows the husband's track through the snow, which lies on the earth nearly all the year round, and devotes all her attention in preparing to receive him when he returns.

*Sacrum vetustis extruit lignis focum,
Lassi sub adventum viri.*

Such a life seems quite difficult and laborious. Yet it is their custom, and it would be hard for them to live a milder and more tranquil one. When the husband or hunter returns, the wife knows at once whether he has killed an animal, for the Indian is naturally taciturn and, when he does speak, makes use of strong expressions. The serious air with which he enters the cabin lets her know he has some game. She goes out and, finding it outside, brings it in, or, if he has not been able to carry it all, he tells her some time after where he left it and she has to go and look for it, even if it should be two leagues away. But when he has killed nothing, he sometimes gives a sigh, which is a bad sign.

The hunter is sure to be very tired when he comes back. His wife helps him off with his things and gives him a beaver skin to serve as a dressing-gown. When he has rested a little, he begins to smoke, and tells his family the story of his hunting. If the children are old enough, these are so many lessons for them as they consider all their happiness to consist in the chase. For the rest of the day their talk is brief, and they pass it in feasting if they have the wherewithal.

They are not at all delicate in their eating. I have lived several days in their manner. They take a piece of moose, or beaver, or some other animal, and place it on a wooden fork which they fix in the ground before the fire. When it is roasted on the one side, they turn it on the other. If they have wild geese or other game, they hang them by small cords attached to a little stake, and turn them around so as to make them cook on all sides. They boil their food with snow when the rivers and lakes are frozen, and drink the grease from it with as much appetite as if we were to get the best *consommé*. When they find it too salt, they put more snow in the *bouillon*. It is useless to expect any delicacy of taste among them. They only live to keep themselves from dying and, satisfying merely the bare necessities of nature, they find that a man can get along on very little.

Bene est, cui Deus obtulit,

Parca, quod satis est manu.

When game is abundant in the place they have discovered, they remain there. If there is none they change their camps. They are often surprised by famine and suffer keenly. Nature aids them at times because these people are very abstemious. I saw an instance of this in two Iroquois whom we transported to France. They

were four days without eating because they were accidentally told that there was no biscuit, and so they felt obliged by this abstinence to take a share in the common sufferings of the crew.

This free and wandering life naturally prevents them from having any knowledge of God. It is indeed difficult to determine whether they know Him at all, and their ignorance so obscures their understanding that one cannot get at the truth.

They are not insensible with regard to the happiness and the misfortunes that befall them. They seem to have some of the principles of Manicheism. Like these heretics of old, they recognize a good and an evil spirit. They call the former *Quichemanitou*. He is the god of prosperity. It is he from whom they imagine that they receive all the good things of life; it is he who presides over all the pleasant aspects of nature. The *Matchimanitou*, on the contrary, is the god of misfortune. They worship him more from fear than from love, and in this respect they are not unlike the ancient Romans who built a temple to fever, not for the good which they derived from it but for fear of the evil it might do to them. These two spirits, according to the belief of most of them, are the sun and the moon. They seem to recognize the former as the sovereign master of the universe; consequently, when they suffer any public or tribal afflictions, they sacrifice to him.

The heads of families assemble at day-break in the abode of one of the chiefs to smoke to the sun and join him in smoking. The chief lights the calumet and presents it three times to the rising sun. Then, while holding it forth with two hands, and following the course of the sun till he comes back to the point from which he started,

he makes the most submissive, respectful, and affecting prayer it is possible to imagine, begging the sun to be favourable to their enterprises, and recommending to him all their families. Then the chief smokes the pipe for a moment and passes it to the others, who in turn "smoke to the sun" until all the tobacco is exhausted. If they have no tobacco they use *Sagacomí*, a herb which is very agreeable to the taste.¹

The *Ouenebigonhelinis*, who inhabit the sea coast, believe when a storm occurs that the spirit of the moon is descending to the depths of the sea, thus exciting the tempest. To appease it, they sacrifice to it whatever is most precious in their canoe, casting everything into the sea, even their tobacco, believing that this is the greatest holocaust they can offer it. Such a sacrifice as Eneas performed when he took leave of Acestes before setting sail for Latium.

*Stans procul in prora, pateram tenet, extaque falsos,
Porricit influctus, ac vina liquentia fundit.*

Virg. En. V. 775.

An Indian of this nation who came to see us on September 6, the day after our fight with the English, found himself in a very unfavourable situation. Had he been able to foresee the result of his trip to us, which was as unhappy for himself as for us, he would have taken good care not to come. I saw him in the act of making sacrifices during the storm in which we were all shipwrecked. He sang and uttered lamentations in a woeful voice. From time to time he whispered in his wife's ear

¹The Indians commonly use the leaves of the bear-berry (*Arctostaphilos uva-ursi*) or the inner bark of the red willow (*Cornus stolonifera*) both to mix with their tobacco if the supply of the latter is short, or as a substitute for it if they cannot get tobacco.

because, he said, "I wish to chase away the evil spirit which is about us."

Smoking to the sun is a practice which only prevails on great occasions. For their ordinary worship, they address their *manitou* who is really a tutelary deity. This *manitou* is sometimes the claw of a beaver, a bit of a caribou's hoof, or a small ermine skin. I saw one on the back of an Eskimo when we were in the strait, which he would on no account give me although generally ready to trade off all the clothes he wore. A walrus tooth, or a shark's fin may also serve as an amulet or *manitou*. They generally get them from their magicians and constantly wear them.

The devil seems to have taken possession of the mind of those unfortunate creatures who, desiring to know how their affairs will turn out, betake themselves to their magicians. These, if I may use the term, are sorcerers. They practise magic in different ways. Among most of the Indians who come to trade with us, it is done in the following manner. The magician builds a circular lodge of poles, sunk deep in the ground and surrounded with the skins of caribou or other animals, with an opening at the top large enough for a man to enter by. The magician encloses himself in it alone, sings, cries, shakes, and torments himself, utters invocations and imprecations very much like the Sybil of whom Virgil speaks, who, inspired by Apollo, uttered her oracles with the same frenzy.

*At Phoebe nondum patiens, immanis in antro,
Bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit,
Excussisse Deum: tanto magis ille fatigat,
Os rabidum? fera corda domans, fingitque premendo.*

Virgil En. VI. 77.

He asks the *Matchimanitou* any questions he wishes. If the latter wishes to reply, there is heard a rumbling as of a falling rock and all the poles of the tent are so violently shaken that one expects it to be overturned. In this way the magician receives the oracle, and the confidence that they have in the truth of what is often so pronounced acts as an obstacle to all that one can say to induce them to abandon their errors. Moreover, they take care that no Frenchman shall enter the place where they practise their magic.

The greatest consolation that the father of a family can have is a number of daughters. They are the support of the house, whereas a father who has sons only may look forward to being abandoned by them when they have grown up. As the sterile land in those parts cannot be cultivated, the sole resource for most of the Indians is hunting.

Although daughters form all the happiness of both fathers and mothers, they themselves are none the happier sometimes for that. They are not allowed to consult their own inclinations, and, if a girl finds her affections engaged reciprocally with those of a lover who is not in good repute as a hunter, she has to give him up.

When a young Indian wants to marry, he signifies to his father that he has an esteem for some particular maiden. Then the father goes and asks for her in marriage. If the parents find it suitable the Indian pays a visit of five or six days to his fair one. He sleeps in the same cabin in the presence of the father and the mother, where all takes place in good form. The girl deplores her virginity and, at times, when dissatisfied with her would-be husband, sheds many tears. Her parents strive to console her, telling her that the lover is a great hunter

or that he belongs to a great family, that is, he has many relations, which is one of the best conditions for an alliance because, if they should suffer distress, they would have recourse in their necessity to the relatives of their son-in-law.

The marriage ceremony is quite informal. The parents of both parties are present and the young Indian says to his mistress that he takes her for his wife. This renders it necessary for him to reside with his father-in-law, who remains master of his hunting until there are children born. Usually he spends the remainder of his life with her father unless some trouble arises; but it is the latter's policy to deal tactfully with the son-in-law. If the bride proves barren, in course of time, the husband has no difficulty in leaving her without any further embarrassment, and marries again. Polygamy is permitted among these nations, where it is not considered a hanging matter.

The Indian women have such strong constitutions, that if, by chance, they should be confined while travelling from one encampment to another, they merely rest for an hour or two and then, wrapping up the infant in a beaver skin, they resume their journey. It is only when they are much exhausted by the labour that they rest a day or two on the road. I saw one at Fort Nelson who was carrying her son on her back in his cradle. This was a small narrow pine board, long enough and wide enough to hold him. He was swathed in beaver skin without a cap although it was very cold. He was perfectly formed and seemed wonderfully healthy.

The first time a girl begins to feel the malady incident to her sex, she retires to a lodge for the space of thirty days. During this time, she smears herself with coal or

black stone. A woman, or her mother, brings her food, and afterwards leaves her alone and she busies herself with some light occupation to pass the time away. If she should be on a journey at the time this happens, near a lake or a frozen river from which she might wish to take a drink, she makes a hole in the ice to draw water, and leaves some mark in the neighbourhood as a sign to any others who might come there to drink, and the passers-by take good care not to drink at such a place which, according to their belief, is impure and unclean. If this inconvenience happens to a woman, she keeps in retreat until her illness is over, and, when she returns to the family tent, she puts out all the fires in it by pouring water on them and lights them anew.

When the father or mother dies, the children or nearest relatives burn the body. They wrap up the bones in the bark of trees and bury them in the ground. They build a tomb, surrounded with poles to which they tie tobacco for the spirit to smoke who will look after them in the other world, with bows and arrows to enable him to continue his hunting if he is a hunter.

If a young child dies, the father or the mother cuts off some of its hair, of which they make a little packet along with all they have that is most beautiful and precious to them. Of this they make a kind of doll which they call the *Tehipaye*, and put it in the most prominent place in the lodge. The mother mourns for the child by weeping bitter tears which she sheds every evening in front of the fire for the space of twenty days, and, when their friends come to see them, she tells them all her grief. The husband gives them something to smoke, and they in return make gifts to console the mourners. The husband does not fail to provide feasts

at which they are obliged by custom and good manners to consume everything. The father, however, in a spirit of gratitude for their share in his grief, eats nothing but is satisfied with smoking, or, if he gets hungry, he will rather take some other food than that which he serves to his friends.

Nothing appeals so strongly to a young Indian as the hope of becoming some day a great hunter. When he is strong enough to set about it, he prepares for it by painting his face black, and fasting three days without eating or drinking. This is a sacrifice which he thinks himself obliged to make to the Great Spirit and, in order to make it more authentic, he selects in every kind of deer some particular part such as the tongue or the snout which is sacred to him. This part is called *Ouetchi-tagan*, that is to say *the piece reserved*, and it is so precious to the Indian that, however great may be the famine or the distress that may happen, no member of the family will dare to touch it except the hunter himself and the strangers who come to see him. They have the mistaken belief that they would die if they were to eat of it. Martigny, who lived eighteen months among most of the tribes of these regions, wanted one day to eat the *Ouetchi-tagan* of a moose. Some of the Indian women rushed up to him, begging him for dear life not to do so, but, as he found it a very delicate morsel, he went outside and ate it, and he did not die. They told him that, as he was a Frenchman, they were not surprised. Although these Indians yield to their natural desires, they can be very sober when they deem it necessary. In time of scarcity they promise the Great Spirit that the first animal they kill shall be kept uneaten till they have given a share to some chief. And it sometimes happens that they will

keep the animal two months before they meet anyone of mark, reserving for themselves only the feet and the poorer parts. If, during this time it should spoil, they burn it as a sacrifice. Others, who do not wish to offer anything to the Great Spirit, seat themselves alone by the fire, take their pipe and present it three times to their *manitou*, repeat their lugubrious chants, make lamentation, and commend to him their families.

These tribes have a sense of justice. If there are individuals who keep up quarrels between themselves, it is sure to be because they have some great reason for contention, usually due to the rights of the chase.

These people rarely fight battles in the open. They leave their camps in cold blood, and conceal themselves in places where they think their enemies will pass. When their enemies fall into their hands they scalp them. They tear off the skin which covers the skull and they put as many marks on themselves as they have taken scalps. I saw three *Ouenebigouchelinis* who had wild goose feathers attached to their caps above their ears as trophies of their victories over their enemies.

They are ignorant of cheating, and lying is abhorred among them. Anyone who is recognized as a liar is publicly rebuked. Consequently, truth, uprightness, and valour are their three most essential qualities. It follows that, when an Indian has discovered the lodge of a beaver, he may be sure that no one else will be so unfair as to hunt it. They put marks in the neighbourhood, so that people may know it has already been discovered. But if, by chance, an Indian passing that way is hard-pressed by hunger, he is allowed to kill the beaver, provided that he leaves the skin, and the tail which is the most delicate morsel.

I cannot mention that animal to you, Sir, which constitutes the wealth of that country without acknowledging at the same time that of all animals it appears to possess the greatest power of reasoning. Indeed, I do not know what the Cartesians would have thought of it if they had seen the skill with which it constructs its lodge, which is so wonderful that you recognize in it the authority of an absolute master, the true character of a paterfamilias, and the genius of a clever architect. In consequence of this, the Indians say it is not an animal but a spirit. It knows how to estimate the length of the winter and provide for it with all possible forethought.

Nine beavers usually get together and determine the excellence of their site by the quantity of water they find there; and they have enough sagacity, if I may use these terms, deliberately to dam up the small running streams for fear that they should either become dry, or that an excessive flood should carry away their houses.

When they are ready for building operations, there is one beaver that takes command and decides everything. It is he who is the prime mover, and, when the tree which they are cutting down with their teeth is ready to fall on the side which he deems proper, he gives a cry which is a signal to the others to get out of the way of its fall. The work of a carpenter and the steady application of a mason, are practised with care. Some cut down the trees; others prepare the foundations with such strength that a ram could not drive in the piece of wood more solidly; others, using their tail as a trowel, take mud and cement the walls with it, so that they are made impervious to the assaults of the weather.

Their houses are made of wood, of reeds, and of mud. They stand about six or seven feet above the surface of

the water. They have three or four storeys. The floors are made of branches of trees as thick as one's arm, the crevices being filled with earth and moss. There are depressions to wet their tails because these animals are amphibious. This room is always very clean. As the water rises they go up to the next storey. Although their provisions, which consist of the bark of aspen trees, are mostly at the bottom of the water, they have some in the other apartments, even in the top storey. When they build on the rivers, they make a semi-circular house before damming the stream, and, when in the lakes, they make it circular and leave no entrance or exit above the surface.

The beavers ordinarily take up their abode on the rivers, lakes, and streams. When the Indians wish to capture them in the rivers, they find out as nearly as possible the number of outlets they have, for outlets are the proof of the beavers' cunning. The Indians cut the ice so as to let the water run off, hemming the house in with poles and stakes to prevent the beavers from escaping, and leave in the middle a net made of deer skin instead of hemp.

When the beavers do not come out this way, the Indians conclude that there are subterranean burrows, and, to find them out, they rap on certain parts of the ice which give back a clear sound. At once they make a hole in it and they recognize by the movement of the water, which the beaver stirs by his breathing, that he is not far away. It is like the ripple made by a small stone thrown into a pond. The Indian sets up stakes around this hole with enough space to facilitate the passage of the beaver, and puts in a couple of little sticks to show the movement of the water, and, when the

beaver comes, then the Indian takes it by the hind paw or by the tail and lifts it on to the ice where he clubs it on the head.

When the Indians wish to capture them in the lakes, they surround their ordinary houses with nets at some little distance and then destroy their country houses, which are about four hundred paces distant, for the beavers which live in lakes have such houses. These are not filled with provisions like the others but serve only as play-grounds, so to speak, and places where they can bathe with more freedom. Having destroyed their country house, the Indians throw into it a quantity of the dust of rotten wood to blind them if they should try to escape by this passage. After completing this destruction, the Indians ravage their main habitation from which the beavers take flight, some to be caught in the nets already stretched for them, others seeking a better refuge in the country house to meet with the same fate.

Finally, when the Indians wish to catch them in the smaller streams, they destroy their dams so as to dry them out. The beavers, thinking the force of the water is breaking their dam, seek to repair it, and the Indians kill them with darts and arrows.

Beaver fur is much used in Europe, chiefly by foreigners. I find eight species recognized by the *Bureau de la Forme*.

The first is the winter greasy beaver, that is to say the beaver which has been made into robes and worn by the Indians often enough to give it an oily appearance. It is the best quality and brings five livres five sous a pound.

The summer greasy beaver skin is one which has been killed in summer and made into robes which have like-

Tom. 1. pag. 132.



Figure d'un Castor.

PICTURE OF A BEAVER

From Bacqueville de la Potherie, *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1753),
Volume I

wise been worn and become oily like the former kind. These are worth two livres fifteen sous a pound. The winter dry sort and the *bardeau* are of the same kind, and both are worth three livres ten sous a pound, but they differ in that the *bardeau* has a thicker skin than the winter dry beaver, consequently costs less and is not so profitable for the hat-makers because it has less wool.

The summer dry beaver was worth one livre fifteen sous a pound; but it has been rejected by the Receiving House, as it is really good for nothing.

The *Veûle* is a beaver pelt which, after having been used in a robe some time by the savages, is half greased. Thus it has not the same quality as the winter greasy beaver skin, that is to say it does not bind so well. It was worth four livres ten sous.

The *Moscovite* is a dry beaver with a fine skin covered with long hair. This is sent to Russia where the people buy it to make tapestries and other fabrics that they use. For this purpose, they comb it with a kind of scraper and take off all the wool, leaving on the skin only this long hair which is highly esteemed by them. It was worth at the *Bureau* four livres ten sous.

The cuttings and the mittens are fragments which they cut off the greasy robes to shape them to their purpose, and the mittens are really used as mittens by the Indians to protect them from the cold, and which get greasy by being worn. They are bought at the rate of one livre fifteen sous a pound.

I am abusing your kindness too much and permit me to assure you that I am, with devotion,

Sir,

Your very humble, &c.

LETTER VI

The Origin of the Establishments in the North of Canada called Hudson Bay, with the different Actions that have taken place between the French and the English.

Sir,

I ENTERTAIN for you the same sentiments that I have and shall always have for the Marquis de Pomereuil (your relative).¹ The reception you accorded me at the court was so gracious that I feel obliged to respond to your kindness by giving you a bit of history regarding the establishment in the north of Canada. You will observe in it several extraordinary events. To make one's way into so remote a country through so many dangers, toils, and troubles, there to shine with splendour—that will assure you, Sir, that, when the King's glory is at stake, one's zeal overcomes any obstacles that may be encountered.

It would require a very long discussion to go into the question of the origin of the establishment in Canada. I should have to revert to a number of the reports and transactions of the sovereign council of Quebec.

But to avoid this long recital of the facts of history, I will merely say that, in 1534, Jacques Cartier, a pilot of St. Malo, visited all the coasts of this vast country, and that, six years later in company with Roberval, a gentleman from Picardy, he spent the winter at a place ten leagues above Quebec which is still known by his name.²

¹Messrs. de Livri and de Pomereuil are first cousins.

²This is a very inadequate sketch of Cartier's three voyages in 1534, 1535-6, and 1541-2 respectively. On the first voyage he discovered and explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence; on the second he ascended to the site of Montreal and wintered at the mouth of the St. Charles river, and on the third he ascended the St. Lawrence river to some place above the Lachine rapids, wintered at the mouth of Cap Rouge river, and returned to France.

And I will say nothing of the various enterprises of 1524, carried on by the command and at the expense of King Francis the First, on the coast of Carolina, Virginia, and Florida, a coast which the English usurped during the dissensions that were then taking place in France, as they afterwards seized upon the coast of Acadia.¹ Passing over, then, the circumstances that concern the south of Canada, I wish to speak solely of the discoveries in the north.

Alphonse, a native of Saintonge, desired to carry his explorations further than Cartier. In 1545, he ran along the north coast, but Jean Bourdon penetrated still further, for, in 1656, coasting along Labrador in a thirty-ton vessel, he entered a strait and arrived at the lower end of the bay after having made a circuit of seven or eight hundred leagues by sea, and yet it is only one hundred and thirty leagues distant from Quebec by land. This was afterwards called Hudson Bay by the English. Jean Bourdon set up a trade with the Indians in those regions.² The latter, when they knew there was a foreign nation in their neighbourhood, in 1661, sent deputies overland to Quebec to the French to set up trading. They also asked the Viscount d'Argenson, then the governor, to let them have a missionary. He sent them Father Dablon, a Jesuit, with M. de la Vallière, a gentleman of Normandy, accompanied by Denis Guyon, Desprez Couture, and François Pelletier, who went there by land. They had as guides some Indians from the river Saguenay, which flows into the St. Lawrence forty leagues from

¹He evidently refers here to the voyage of Verrazano, who between January and July, 1524, reached the eastern coast of America and sailed northward from Carolina to Newfoundland, whence he returned to France.

²It is quite certain that Jean Bourdon never sailed as far north as Hudson straits, and consequently he never entered Hudson Bay.

Quebec, but during the journey their opinion on the enterprise of the Frenchmen seemed unfavourable. After serious reflection on this subject, they said that, not knowing the roads well, they would not venture to lead them any further. So the Frenchmen were obliged to return.

The Indians of the bay sent back, in 1663, to Quebec and begged the governor, M. d'Avaugour, to give them some more Frenchmen. He sent them La Couture with five men, who according to his general's orders, proceeded overland, and, on his arrival at the bay, took possession of it. He took his bearings for this purpose at a place where he set up a cross. He placed on the ground at the foot of a great tree the King's arms, engraved on copper, enclosed in two leaden plaques, with bark above them.¹

Groseilliers and Radisson, Canadian habitants, took into their heads some chimerical ideas as to the possession of certain places on the bay. When they saw, however, that they could not keep up the considerable expenses involved, they went to Boston and thence to London, where they made proposals for setting up an establishment.²

The English heard them readily, without worrying over the troubles they had had at Quebec, and arrived with them at the river which takes its name from Lake Nemiscau, which is at the lower end of the bay that they call Rupert, from the name of Prince Robert [*sic*]. By this first plan they agreed to establish themselves afterwards at Monsipi and at Kichichouanne.

¹No further evidence of this journey of M. La Couture has been produced, and the statement of its occurrence, and the depositing of a copper plate on the shore of the bay, is probably fictitious.

²For a statement of the exploits of Groseilliers and Radisson see introduction.

They knew nothing at Quebec of the enterprise of Groseilliers and Radisson and of its success. The English remained for some time masters in these regions until the French court got information about it. M. Colbert, who was bent on extending the colonies, wrote to the intendant of Canada, M. Du Chêneau, a letter dated May 15, 1678, by which he notified him that it was to the profit of the King's service to undertake an expedition to Hudson Bay for the purpose of contesting its possession with the English, who were laying claim to it.

Groseilliers and Radisson afterwards repented of the false steps they had taken, and returned to France where they were pardoned by the King. Later they came back to Canada.

When the colony began to grow to some importance, a company was formed to trade in the bay. Groseilliers and Radisson took command of a couple of small vessels for these parts. They arrived at the river Penechiouetchiou, or Ste. Thérèse,¹ which is in 57° 30' north latitude, where they built a small fort. Three days after, a bark from Boston arrived, manned by a crew of ten whom the French received as friends and who established themselves in the river Poaourinagaou [or Bourbon],² which is seven leagues from the Ste. Thérèse. Four days after, there appeared below the Bourbon a ship from London with eighty men. The men from Boston, who had come into the bay as interlopers in the confines of their own countrymen, were afraid of capture and put themselves under the protection of our men.

¹Partridge river, now Hayes river.

²Nelson river.

The Englishmen from the London ship meant to land and take possession of a spot. Those in our fort opposed them, and, while this dispute was in progress, the ice drove with such violence against the English that it cut their cables, carried them to sea, and wrecked them with fourteen men. A part of the crew, who got ashore in their shallows, implored the French for assistance. We took pity on them. We even gave them a large bark and provisions, with which they set sail for the lower end of the bay.

Groseilliers and Radisson, after making a treaty with the Indians, left only eight men in the fort to keep it going till the following year. They brought away the English interloper to Quebec, and the governor M. de la Barre sent him back home without confiscating his goods. Groseilliers and Radisson were not satisfied with their associates. They became discontented and went to Paris. Lord Preston, the English ambassador, learned of their presence there and made use of every possible means of attracting them back to London. He promised one of his servants, Godet, to make him perpetual secretary of the embassy if he could win over Radisson. In order to succeed more easily, Godet promised the latter his daughter in marriage, and Radisson did marry her.

Ambition now began to reign in Radisson's heart, and he wished to take advantage of the good opinion that the English had formed of his merits. After the good treatment he had received in England and the command of Fort Nelson, or Bourbon, which had been granted him, he assured them that he would make them masters of it. He had no difficulty in this, having left there his nephew Chouart, son of Groseilliers.

The withdrawal of these two traitors obliged the

Associates to take other measures. They wished to keep up their commerce and, the following year, they sent two small vessels to Fort Nelson. M. de la Martinière,¹ their commander, was very much surprised on his arrival to find such a metamorphosis, and, seeing that the English had made themselves masters of the place, he had to enter the river Matsisipi, or Gargousse,² which discharges just opposite Fort Bourbon. He wintered there ten months, and, after having done a very mediocre trade with the Indians, he set sail for Quebec on July 16. He proposed to twelve of his people that they should remain with him three leagues above the English, on an island³ where Le Gardeur had wintered. It was a natural fortress, escarped, and accessible only in one small spot where one could without trouble prevent the landing of canoes, and it had an impassable marsh all around it. There was plenty of game and no lack of firewood. But M. de la Martinière advanced all these arguments in vain; none of them would consent to it. They were afraid food would fail them and that they would get no succour the next year, and this was what actually happened. So many obstacles obliged him to set fire to his fort, and return to Quebec. On his way he captured an English ketch on the coast of Labrador, which was coming to the bay, and he would have taken another vessel but for the fact that his crew had been weakened by the scurvy.

The news of the capture of Fort Bourbon was keenly felt by the Company. Their loss amounted to three hundred thousand livres and they were bound to have their revenge.

¹See report of P. Silvy.

²French creek.

³On Rainbow island.

The Associates remonstrated very humbly with His Majesty against the injustice they had suffered from the English, and they obtained full proprietary rights over the river Ste. Thérèse by a decree of the council of May 20, 1685.

The Chevalier de Troyes, an infantry captain at Quebec, in consequence came overland the next year with Ste. Hélène, Iberville, and Maricourt, three Canadian brothers, followed by several others, with the intention of capturing Forts Monsipi, Rupert, and Kichichouanne. Father Silvy, a Jesuit missionary of the highest merit, was delighted to accompany them.

They left Montreal in the month of March, 1686, dragging their canoes, or carrying them on their backs with their provisions, a good part of the way through the woods, where they found rivers full of floating drift ice. This march with all its hardships lasted till June 20, and it was only Canadians who could stand the inconveniences of so long a journey.

They arrived, eighty-two in number, at Fort Monsipi,¹ which is at the lower end of the bay in latitude $51^{\circ} 17'$ north.

When the Chevalier de Troyes came near the fort, he took all the precautions of a skilful commander. But to give a proper idea of the way he conducted his attack on the fort, I must first give a description of its plan.

It was in the form of a square, thirty paces from the bank of a river, on a little height, surrounded by a stockade seventeen or eighteen feet in height and flanked by four bastions, lined within by stout planks, with an earth terrace about a foot thick.

¹Moose Fort.

In each of the bastions facing the river there were three cannons, six- or seven-pounders, and two guns were in the other two which looked out on a stretch of wilderness some twenty acres in extent. A great gate in the middle of the curtain, half a foot thick, studded with big nails, with hinges and bars of iron behind, opened towards the river, and there was another opening towards the wilderness. In the middle of the fort along the bank of the river could be seen a redoubt built of timber in three storeys, thirty feet long by twenty-eight feet wide, and thirty feet high. A parapet extended all around, with four embrasures on each side, and on the redoubt there were three two-pound cannon and a little brass eight-pounder.

After the Chevalier de Troyes had examined the exterior, he detailed a detachment to guard the canoes. The attacking party took along two of them which were loaded with heavy planks for fortifications, pikes, pick-axes, shovels, gabions, and a ram.

Ste. Hélène and Iberville were assigned to the attack on the two flanks which guarded the wooden curtain. Sergeant La Liberté was to make a feint, and to place three men at each of the flanks which guarded the curtain on the right, ordering one of the three to cut the palisade and the other two to fire through the embrasure the moment they saw the cannon move.

The Chevalier de Troyes, who had reserved the chief attack for himself, divided his men into three detachments, each in charge of a sergeant. Two were to fling themselves on each of the flanks, and the third had orders to batter down the gate with the ram. All these detachments were under his own wise control. Ste. Hélène and Iberville arrived at a bastion where they had

two cannon tied together, and fixed the end of the cord to a fork so that they could not be managed, and, in case the besieged desired to fire them off, they affixed ropes to them in such a way that the recoil of the gun would have torn off half the palisade. They used this trick wherever the guns appeared. Ste. Hélène and Iberville, followed by half a dozen of the most active men, scaled the palisade, opened the wooden gate which was not locked, and got up to the gate of the redoubt to break it in. Unfortunately our own men fired at them from the side of the river through little holes, thinking them to be Englishmen, and wounded one of them. Meanwhile the ram arrived before the great gate and did its work. The Chevalier de Troyes at once threw himself into the main fort and had his men fire into all the embrasures and loop-holes of the redoubt. This attack was accompanied by all the war-whoops of the Iroquois. They offered quarter to the besieged, but an Englishman appeared who replied boldly enough that they wished to fight, and, at the moment he was aiming a cannon, Ste. Hélène shot him through the head with a musket ball. They brought the ram up against the door of the redoubt which it broke in. Iberville, with his sword in the one hand and his musket in the other, rushed inside; but, as the door still held by one hinge, an Englishman, who was behind it, shut it again. Iberville, who could see neither sky nor earth, found himself in a very awkward position. He heard some people coming down a staircase and fired on them. We hastened to his assistance, for our men, making a final effort with the ram, crowded in, their swords in their hands. They found the English stripped to their shirts, for they had not perceived any

of the first movements which had been made before the attack on their fort.

This first enterprise having been completed, the Chevalier de Troyes resolved to go on. He was in doubt whether to go to Rupert or to Kichichouanne.¹ He had learned that a boat had left for Rupert the day before he arrived at Monsipi, so the forces there would be increased. He would have to go forty leagues along the sea coast to get to Rupert. The roads there were very difficult, while it was only thirty leagues to Kichichouanne. He knew that they had no guard at the former, and that at the latter the guard was very regularly kept; but the attack on the one seemed to him more difficult, because this vessel, which had left for Rupert, was sure to anchor close by the fort and so he would be obliged to sink it in order to get a favourable opening. All these facts kept puzzling him. Finally he resolved to attack Rupert. A shallop to carry two small cannon was built. Having made their preparations, a force of sixty set out on June 25, and arrived before Rupert on July 1. Ste. Hélène had orders to reconnoitre its situation. He reported that the fort was a long rectangle, flanked by four bastions, without any cannon; that there was a redoubt within, which was not quite in the middle of the place, constructed like the one at Monsipi except that it was covered with a flat roof without a parapet; that there was a ladder against the roof on account of fire; that the redoubt had four little bastions raised from the ground as high as a man, supported, not by posts, but only by pieces of wood extending from the redoubt, and that there seemed to be eight cannon on it. This was a very opportune discovery.

¹Albany.

They made carriages for the cannon. They prepared all the bombs. They prepared thick planks for the mines. Fourteen picked men supported by Iberville were to look after the vessel. A sergeant with a detachment was to take ambush in order to fire on those who might appear on the bridge, and Ste. Hélène with his men was to break down the gate with the battering ram. They were to be ready on the one side to use the cannon, and on the other a grenadier was to mount the ladder. On the night of the 3rd, they arrived in good order at the foot of the fort, where the Chevalier de Troyes called a halt. Meanwhile Iberville and Maricourt rowed up alongside the vessel. They found an Englishman wrapped in his cloak under the bridge, who tried to defend himself as he awoke but they hardly gave him time. Iberville stamped with his foot to waken the others, as the custom is on ship-board when a crew has to be wakened if something extraordinary happens. One man, who peeped over the top of the companion-way to see what was the matter, got a sabre cut on the middle of his head; another, who got up in the fore part of the ship, perished in the same manner. The French broke in the saloon with axes, and the English gave in everywhere. The French gave them quarter, especially to Brigueur, the governor of Monsipi, who was coming to relieve the commander of Kichichouanne and who was, moreover, the general in command of Hudson Bay.

As to the Chevalier de Troyes, his battering ram had no difficulty in breaking through the door of the fort, into which they all entered sword in hand. The grenadier at once got to the roof of the redoubt. He threw a number of bombs down the chimney into a stove pipe that ran from top to bottom in the middle of the redoubt.

Everything blew up. No one could live in the place. A woman, who heard them making holes in the ceiling of her room, thought she would be safer in another one, but a bursting bomb struck her as she was escaping. All the Canadians kept up a constant fire into all the port-holes and loop-holes. A frightful tumult filled the place. While they were setting up a battery in the middle to destroy the redoubt, the battering ram was working its utmost to burst in the door. The cannon made up for its ineffectiveness, but the greatest source of consternation to the besieged was that the sapper had made all his arrangements, and only waited for the command to blow the redoubt into the air. Happily, the English, perceiving that they could resist no longer, asked for quarter. All the prisoners were placed on a yacht which was stranded not far from the fort. Afterwards the French blew up the redoubt and cut down the stockade, for it would have required too many men to guard the place. Ste. Hélène and Iberville remained there. The Chevalier de Troyes, having given orders that they should refit the yacht, embarked in the canoes with some of his men to return to Monsipi. There he found the prize which had arrived before him. He had the prisoners from Rupert put off on the other side of the river with provisions, nets for fishing, and two guns with powder and lead, forbidding them on pain of death to cross over. If by chance they had anything important to communicate to the French, they could come at low tide on a sand bank with two men only who should put a handkerchief on the end of a stick as a signal.

The Chevalier de Troyes, seeing that everything had been successful so far, desired to end his attacks with Fort Kichichouanne. He asked Father Silvy, who had

stayed at Monsipi during the affair at Rupert, to accompany him.

The roads to it were almost impassable. No one knew exactly its situation. All this coast is so shallow as to be almost unnavigable. They had to double points of sand running out three leagues to sea. At low tide, all the baggage of the canoes had to be carried a league further out. At high tide, they found themselves caught in the ice. Amid all these difficulties they could not find the place. Some of the Indians, who thought they could find it, were unable to tell where they were. They were anxious, however, to guide the troops aright, as their dislike of the English inspired them with too much resentment to let them give up. As they were in this perplexity seven or eight cannon-shots were heard. This was enough to encourage them to make an effort to reach the spot where they suspected some special festival was being celebrated.

They came to a place two leagues from the fort where there was a kind of platform erected, on top of which was a seat to post a sentinel, where the English came from time to time to watch for their ships. Ste. Hélène then went to reconnoitre the position of the fort. Just then Iberville arrived with his boat at the mouth of the river, with all the flags of the English Company, having had great difficulty in getting out of the ice.

The fort, having been reconnoitred, the Chevalier de Troyes advanced to it. As he could find no convenient positions for setting up his batteries, he thought he would begin by summoning the commander to surrender. Troyes knew him to be no soldier and he thought he might be intimidated as he was aware already of the capture of Forts Monsipi and Rupert. Troyes used the

pretext, moreover, that he was come to demand the release of three Frenchmen who had been taken not long before and treated very badly, and said that, if they were not given up, he would capture the place. The governor received very politely those who were sent to summon him, but did not speak either of surrendering or defending the fort. The Chevalier de Troyes was convinced that this betrayed weakness.

Meanwhile our men were obliged to work hard preparing their battery. The fort was forty paces from the edge of the water in a marsh, begirt by a ruined moat, separated from the battery of the Canadians by a stream a gunshot across. There was a large detached building of logs which served as a cloister to a curtain fifty feet long facing the river, in which the garrison lived. The side which faced the wood was built in the same way, and the two other sides measured forty-two feet. The four bastions were also of logs, and eighteen feet high. The logs were from four to eight inches thick and the faces twenty-two and a half inches broad. There was a platform on top of the bastions on which there were four cannons for each bastion and twenty-five along the sides, arranged in rows. There were two others inside the fort opposite the gates.

The vessel entered the river without mishap. On July 23, ten cannons were landed during the night. These were then aimed at the governor's room and were fired when he was in apparent tranquillity with his family. The effect of the volley was to set everything topsyturvy, without, however, wounding anybody. The place at once became untenable, as did the rest of the fort later on. The French battery was concealed in the woods on a hill which commanded the fort, and the

cannon were so well served that, in little more than an hour, over a hundred and forty volleys were fired which reduced the fort to ruins. The Canadians, when all was going so well, began to shout "Vive le roi!" At the same time, hollow voices came from the fort. The fact is that the besieged had all taken refuge in a cellar, and it was learned afterwards that, since nobody had been willing to risk lowering the flag, they had all made this noise together to signify that they were willing to surrender.

Balls were lacking, but when leaving Monsipi the French had provided themselves with a mould for making them from lead. I grant you, Sir, that it seems extraordinary to attack forts with cannon-balls made of this metal. But, when the forts are built of logs of wood laid one on top of another, and of palisadoes, such missiles prove quite effective.

The Chevalier de Troyes was greatly perplexed. While he was reflecting how he should make a final effort, he was informed that the enemy was sounding a parley and that a man with a white flag was embarking in a shallop.

This happy presage of victory spread joy through the camp. For some time the French had been suffering. Lack of food, and extreme cold had overcome everybody. They had been reduced to eating a kind of wild parsley that they found on the sea-shore. The minister of the fort made a long, complimentary speech to the Chevalier de Troyes in a very trembling voice. The latter asked him sharply who sent him. "The governor would like, Sir, to speak to you." "If your governor", Troyes replied, "would like to speak to me, he may do so without apprehension." The Chevalier de Troyes, perceiving, however, that they thought he was an adventurer,

agreed to accept the minister's proposal that he and the governor should meet at a little distance from the fort. The governor came with some Spanish wine, and after they had drunk to the health of the two Kings, he asked the Chevalier de Troyes to tell him what he wanted. The chevalier replied that, since the governor had not consented to hand over the three Frenchmen, he wished to have the fort. The governor told him that he was ready to yield it up, but that he asked for terms of capitulation. These, Sir, are the terms that he was given.

Articles agreed upon between M. le Chevalier de Troyes, commanding the forces of the north, and Sir Henry Sergent, governor for the English Hudson's Bay Company, July 16, 1686.

In the first place:

It has been agreed that the fort shall be surrendered with all the belongings of the said Company, of which an inventory shall be made for our own particular satisfaction and for that of the two parties in general.

It has been agreed that all the servants of the Company who are on the Albany river shall retain their private property.

That the said Sir Henry Sergent, governor, shall retain all his private property, and that his minister, his three men servants, and his female domestic shall remain with him in his service.

That the said Chevalier de Troyes shall send back the servants of the Company to the island of Charleston in order to await there the ships which are due from England to take them back. And, in case the said ships shall not arrive, the Sieur Chevalier de Troyes shall aid

them with such a vessel as he may have, in order to transport them to England.

That the said *Sieur Chevalier de Troyes* will give the said *Sir Henry Sergent*, or his clerk, the provisions he thinks necessary for him, and for his people, in order to take them back to England, if the vessels do not arrive at a good port, and, in the meantime, will provide them with provisions while awaiting their ships.

That the storehouses shall be closed and sealed up and the keys given to the lieutenant of the said *Sieur Chevalier de Troyes*, in order that nothing shall be missing in the inventory that is to be made by article 1.

That the governor and all the servants of the Company in the river Albany shall march out of the fort and surrender to the said *Sieur Chevalier de Troyes*, and all shall be without arms except the governor and his son, who shall have their side-arms.

These articles were signed by both parties. *Ste. Hélène* and *Iberville* entered the fort at once. The latter took the governor and his suite to *Charlton* island and the rest of the English went to *Monsipi*. This island is in latitude 51° , to the east-north-east of *Kichichouanne* from which it is twenty-five leagues distant. The English kept a warehouse there. It was their first landing-place before arriving at *Kichichouanne*, whither they brought the beavers in a boat kept for the purpose.

The conduct of the chevalier was quite well advised in all his enterprises. *Father Silvy's* good counsel was of great service to him during his stay in these regions. After having established good order everywhere, he left for *Montreal* on August 10, 1686.

Iberville sent the English by sea to France, and, six months later, he came overland to Montreal, after leaving his brother Maricourt to command in the north. He came back in 1690 with the *Ste. Anne* and the *Armes de la Compagnie*, with the intention of capturing Fort Nelson. He cast anchor on September 24 near the river Ste. Thérèse. He landed with ten men in order to take some prisoners and thus learn the condition of affairs in the fort. He perceived a sentinel at a place they call the "Outpost", which is half a league from the mouth of the river, and the sentinel gave the alarm. The English at once sent a vessel with thirty-six guns.

Iberville quickly re-embarked in his shallop and was pursued by two English boats which fired on him. He reached his ship and made ready to sail. Meanwhile the tide went out which caused the English to ground on the rocks. Iberville intentionally took a wrong direction so that they would think he was returning that night to France, and, tacking about, he made the river Kouachaug or Holy Oil (because a case of oils was lost there). Here he met the *St. François* commanded by Maricourt. They made themselves masters of Fort New Severn, which was thirty leagues from Fort Nelson. When the English saw that they could not hold it, they set fire to it and took refuge in the latter fort. But they did not succeed in burning the beaver skins. Iberville took them to Kichichouanne in the ships *Ste. Anne*, the *Armes de la Compagnie*, and the *St. François*. He wintered there with the first, and sent the third to Monsipi with provisions and goods for the trade, along with forty men as a reinforcement for the garrison. Most of the trade in the lower part of the bay is in small peltries, namely marten skins, the blackest to be found in all the north.

After the *St. François* had been some time at Monsipi, she went to winter at Rupert, and the *Armes de la Compagnie* anchored at Charleston island. Iberville took the furs from the *St. François*, which had arrived at Kichichouanne and returned to Quebec, before which there was an English fleet. His brother, Longueuil, sent him a warning to the Isle aux Coudres, of the arrival of the English fleet and this obliged him to set sail with all his beaver skins for France.

In 1693, the English wished to have their revenge. They came before Kichichouanne with three ships. They met with no resistance because the Canadian garrison, being absolutely devoid both of munitions and provisions, went overland to Canada. Only three men were left to make head against one hundred English of whom they killed three and then, seeing they would be forced to yield, they preferred to escape into the woods by night rather than surrender at discretion. They made their way to Quebec.

Four days afterwards the *Ste. Anne* arrived. The captain sent some men ashore to find out in what state the Canadians were. The English sent a ship to capture him, but he got wind of them and forced the English to return into the river, and then he sailed back to Canada.

Once Kichichouanne was taken, Rupert and Monsipi suffered the same fate, but, in 1694, the King lent to the Company from Quebec the *Poli* and the *Salamandre*. Iberville, who commanded them, came to Quebec where he collected one hundred and twenty Canadians to make an attack on Fort Nelson. He set out on August 8 and arrived in good condition on September 24, before the river began to freeze. He besieged Fort Nelson for eight

days, and, after a bombardment, he captured it on October 12.

He found in the fort fifty cannon and a garrison of fifty-six men, but no peltries, because the English ships had just taken their departure.

He remained there fifteen months and then returned to France with the results of his trading. He left La Forest as governor, along with La Plaque, the war chief of the Iroquois who had had the honour of being introduced to the King.

In 1696, the English returned to Fort Nelson with four men-of-war and a mortar boat. La Forest held his ground as well as he could, but, owing to lack of food, was obliged to make an honourable capitulation, having been granted all his beaver skins. Just at this juncture, Iberville's brother, naval lieutenant Serigny, arrived with the *Dragon* and the *Hardi*, but whoever reaches this fort first has this advantage, that he has no difficulty in disputing the entry into the river, as I will show you in the sequel. The English did not keep the terms of the surrender but seized the beavers and took them to England, where they also took the Iroquois chief whom they kept a prisoner till the peace. Finally, in 1697, the King sent out our squadron to attack Fort Nelson where his arms had a glorious success. It did not surprise me, Sir, to see the way in which the Canadians won distinction in those places.

M. le Comte de Frontenac gave these young conquerors so many evidences of his experience in making war that they had unconsciously imbibed the martial air with which he had inspired them during the many years that the King made him their governor. They could not forget what he had taught them. To him it was all the more glory to see that the royal arms had

penetrated the most severe climate in the world under his generalship, since, despite all the misfortunes that have happened to us there, he could say with justice that one must be a Canadian, or have the courage of a Canadian, to succeed in such an enterprise.

After Jean Bourdon had first of all discovered the bay in the north of Canada,¹ and made his settlement there, the Danes wished to come there in 1668. The first land discovered by them was at the river Manitousibi in latitude 59 north, which takes its source in the country of the Atticmospicayes,² and which is still called the Danish river and by the English the Churchill. The misfortunes they endured in this region through sufferings and sickness, like those we experienced, caused the death of sixty out of a crew of sixty-four on the two vessels they had. They had to leave the larger in order to get away with the smaller one. This mortality made too bad an impression on the King of Denmark to encourage further trade with the Indians.

The first river we meet after the Danish when going south, is the Poaourinagou, or Bourbon,³ discovered by Groseilliers. This is a very beautiful river about a league across at its mouth, in the land of the Mashkegon-hyrinis or Savannahs,⁴ who are at war with the Hakou-hirmious.⁵ Five leagues up the river are two little islands, each a league in circuit, with large trees.⁶ This

¹This is a very incorrect mixture of events and dates. In the first place Jean Bourdon never discovered Hudson Bay, and in the second place Jens Munk the leader of the Danish expedition, discovered the Churchill river in 1619 not 1668.

²Dog ribs or Chippewyans.

³Nelson river which was discovered by Sir Thomas Button in 1612.

⁴Swampy Crees.

⁵Eskimos.

⁶Gillam and Seal islands, the former, however, being very much larger than the latter. They are just at the head of tide water.

river is only five leagues by land from the Penechiouet-chiou, or Ste. Thérèse,¹ and seven by sea. It was within sight of these two rivers that we maintained, in the *Pelican*, the glory of the King's arms, in the first fight that ever took place in those icy seas, against the *Hampshire*, the *Hudson's Bay*, and the *Dering*, having sunk the first, captured the second, and put the third to flight after an engagement of four hours. All that coast has about a hundred leagues of flat, sandy shore, and it is so shallow that, at six leagues from land, there are only nine fathoms of water. It is exceedingly dangerous when the sea winds blow, especially those from the east, east-south-east, east-north-east, so that ships coming to Fort Nelson first make for a channel called the "Hole."² This "Hole" is an anchorage, east and west, between two banks a league from the mouth of the river Ste. Thérèse. There are eighteen feet of water at low and thirty at high tide; it is two hundred fathoms wide and six hundred long. When a ship arrives, it ought rather to lie near the northern than the southern sand bank.

A league up the river on the starboard bank is Fort Nelson. This river takes its rise in a great lake called Lake Michinipi,³ which is the true country of the Crees, who are in communication with the Assiniboines although they are widely separated from each other.

The river Mathisipi,⁴ called Legané, from the name of a Frenchman who was with Groseilliers, flows in on the port side near the mouth, and about a league

¹Hayes river.

²Five Fathom Hole.

³This would mean *Great body of water*, and probably refers to Lake Winnipeg though the Hayes river does not flow from that lake. But it might very well refer to Oxford lake which is on the upper waters of this river.

⁴Machichi or Fourteen river.

above, opposite the fort, is the river Matsisipi, called La Gargousse [Cartridge] or Canadian river.¹ By means of these two rivers, the Indians come to Fort Severn, of which I have spoken, which is on the bank of a great river that they call the Kouachouc.²

Twelve leagues above the fort is the river Oujuragachousibi,³ and two leagues higher is Apitsibi,⁴ called the river of arrow flints, which is the road the Indians take to a great lake that they call Nameousaki, or Sturgeon river, where the Nakoukouhirinous live.

Twenty leagues above Apitsibi is Kichematouani,⁵ or the grand fork of the river, by which we go to Kichichouanne at the lower end of the bay.

I have spared no pains, as you see, in order to learn all this region thoroughly, which is at the extreme end, so to speak, of North America, at any rate, the most distant known to, and visited by, the nations of Europe.

Nothing remains but to assure you that I am with devotion,

Sir,

Your very humble, &c.

¹French creek.

²Severn river, the name given me by the Indians for this river was Washaho' river.

³This would appear to be the Pennycutaway river, a tributary of Hayes river from the west, twenty-seven miles above York Factory.

⁴Apitsibi is a section of the Hayes river itself. The information that I received from Indians at York Factory was that the name is applied to a stretch of the Hayes river above the mouth of the Shamattawa river, but here the reference would appear to be to a stretch below the mouth of the Shamattawa river.

⁵Shamattawa river, which flows into Hayes river fifty-five miles above York Factory. It is two hundred and fifty to three hundred yards wide at its mouth with a strong current.

LETTER VII

*An Account of the Tribes that come to trade at Fort Nelson.
The Ceremony of opening the Trade in Peltries.*

Sir,

TO be the bearer of a great name, and to be distinguished by one's own personal merit, ought to be two inseparable attributes. Consequently, they are to be found perfectly in yourself. When one hears the name of Duquesne mentioned in society, one hears, at the same time, of one of the guardians of France, of the terror and the thunderbolt of the seas. The renowned Dutch hero, Ruyter, dreaded the great Duquesne, your uncle, of glorious memory, whose valour and intrepidity you have followed as a model for your exploits in all the nations where you have won distinction. The high value which His Majesty has put upon your services by entrusting to you the general government of the American islands is a convincing proof that he recognizes and esteems duly your military undertakings. He has, indeed, appointed you as successor¹ to M. Phéliepeaux, who was a past master in the art of war. In him we have lost a protector and a father to America; but we hope to find another in you, and trust that you will entertain for the Americans sentiments similar to his. I am only too happy to give you some evidence of my attachment to your person, and would beg you at the same time to accept these details concerning a part of my journey to a region far different from that in which I was born.

The country around Fort Nelson is extremely flat. It is filled with forests, the trees in which are very small

¹Ambassador in Savoy.

on account of the great cold. Along the coast are vast, impassable swamps. I found the greatest difficulty in getting across one of them which was a league in length. Even the Chevalier de Ligondez, who was much more vigorous than I, found it a difficult task. A young pilot of twenty, who had followed us, became quite a burden on our hands. An Iroquois whom we had with us helped him considerably by carrying his gun. The night was coming on, and we were afraid of meeting some bears or wolves which are very carnivorous. We finally arrived at the sea-shore.

The tribe that lives nearest the fort are the *Ouenebigonhelinis*, which means "the people by the sea-shore."¹ They live by hunting and fishing. The seals are abundant and they are much larger than in Canada. Their flesh is melted down to fabricate oils which are offered in trade at the fort. This oil is clearer and better than that produced from nuts.

It is surprising to see the enormous quantity of wild geese and wild ducks along the shore. These people trade the down of these birds which they collect from their nests, and the English and French garrisons in this country have no other object but this commerce. A bed of this down is worth three to four hundred francs in France. The white partridge, the only variety found there, are excellent. Their feet are feathered, their eyes surrounded with a plumage like fire, and they are as large as small capons.

There are in these regions white foxes and martens of the kind called Zebeline, more beautiful than in Moscovy.

¹We have here the definite use of the word Winnipeg for the sea or Hudson Bay, and the Indians living near the bay are called Winnipeg people. Evidently Crees.

The *Monsaunis*, "people of the marsh",¹ live in a country which is full of marshes and which is higher than the country of the *Ouenebigonhelinis*. As there are many streams and little rivers which flow gradually into large rivers, these people kill many beaver, for these animals, being amphibious, usually seek for rivers in which to build their houses. They are sometimes found very black, a rather rare quality, for as a rule the beavers are somewhat reddish in colour. These people were anxious to prevent other tribes from bringing their peltries to the fort, but the English forced them to give free passage over their lands if they themselves wished to trade with the English.

The *Savannahs* "people of the swamps",² are more remote as we go towards the south. There are only swamps, meadows, and beautiful hills in this region. The moose, the jumping deer, the *squenoton*,³ and the caribou have room to run there.

The *squenoton* resembles the jumping deer; it is taller, has finer limbs, and a longer and more pointed head.

The caribou has a head like a calf and its flesh resembles that animal's in appearance and taste.

The *Christinaux* or Crees, that is to say, "Indians who live by the lakes", are one hundred and sixty leagues distant. They use the peace calumets. They are a numerous people with an immense territory. They extend as far as Lake Superior. At times they go to

¹The Monsoni Indians here referred to are probably the same as the *Crane Indians* who live at Trout lake and on the Severn river, but of this I cannot be certain.

²An Algonkian tribe living in the country east of Lake Winnipeg, commonly known as *Maskegons* or *Swampy Crees*.

³*Squenoton* would appear to refer to the Black-tailed or Mule deer, *Odocoileus hemionus*, the jumping deer being the White-tailed or Virginia deer, *Odocoileus virginianus*.

trade at Sault Ste. Marie and at Michillimackinac. They are of a very lively, active disposition, always dancing and singing. Yet, withal, they are warlike and in their manners resemble the Gascons.

The *Migichihilinious*, *i.e.* "Indians with eagles' eyes",¹ live two hundred leagues away.

The *Assiniboines*² live in the west and north. They are considered one and the same nation on account of the similarity of their languages. The name means "Men of the rock." They also use the calumet and live two hundred and fifty leagues away. They tatoo great marks on their bodies. They are sober and seem very phlegmatic, resembling the Flemings in character.

The *Oskuisaquamais*³ live as a rule on fish. They kill few beavers, but the furs they wear are the best and their beavers are the oiliest. This good quality is due to their filthiness, for they rub their greasy hands on their beaver skins.

The *Michinipicpoets*, *i.e.* "men of stone of the great lake",⁴ live three hundred leagues distant, running north and south.

The *Netaouatscmipoets*, *i.e.* "men of the dawn",⁵ live four hundred leagues distant.

¹Possibly a band of Crees from the vicinity of Lake of the Woods.

²The Assiniboines are a tribe of Sioux or Dakota stock who some time before the white people arrived in western America quarrelled with the other members of the Sioux nation, and moved northward into the country south of the Saskatchewan and west of the Assiniboine river, and formed an alliance with the Crees. Their descendants are now living in the state of Montana, and in the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta.

³I do not recognize the name of these Indians, but their habits suggest the Saulteaux Indians on the north shore of Lake Huron.

⁴The name means *Sioux of the great lake*, and not "men of stone of the great lake" as given here. Possibly it refers to a band of Assiniboines in the vicinity of Lake Manitoba.

⁵This probably refers to one of the bands of the Sioux confederacy, but I have been unable to identify which one.

The *Attimospiquaies*.¹ The word means "dog's rib." There has been no trade opened up with them yet because they dare not traverse the territory of the *Maskegonehirinis* with whom they are at war. There are, in their country, bulls² of a huge size whose testicles smell of musk and whose skin is as fine as that of the beaver and can be used for making hats. Their horns encircle their heads like those of a ram. These people tell us of a strait at the end of which is a sea of ice that opens into the Southern sea.

Those who come from these tribes to trade with the French get ready in the month of May. When the ice in the lakes and rivers begins to break up, they assemble, sometimes twelve to fifteen hundred, on the shore of a lake which is the meeting place, where they make all preparations for their journey.

The chiefs point out the needs of the tribe and call upon the young hunters to look after the public interest, imploring them to take charge of the beavers in the name of their families. When they have selected a certain number, each family makes a feast for them. For the time being, the whole tribe forms a society for mutual admiration. There is a general renewal of alliances. Joy, pleasure, and good cheer prevail, and, at the same time, they build canoes for the journey. These are made of the bark of birch trees which are much larger than

¹The Dog-ribs (Thlingchadinne) is a tribe of the Athapascan or Chippewyan family living between Great Slave and Great Bear lake. The description here given, however, evidently refers to all the northern Chippewyans who live between the north-west coast of Hudson Bay and the Mackenzie river, rather than to any one small tribe, such as the Dog-ribs proper, who only number a couple of hundred individuals. A very full account of these people is given by Samuel Hearne in his *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean* (New edition, Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1911).

²This is one of the first printed references to the musk ox.

those we have in France. The frame-work is made of ribs or small pieces of white wood four fingers wide. Sticks an inch wide are put across the top to keep the two sides apart. These little boats are capable of extraordinary speed. They can make more than thirty leagues a day on the rivers. They can be used also at sea. They have no regular size. They are carried easily on the back and are very unsteady on the water. When men are paddling it is necessary to kneel or sit on the bottom for there are no seats.

When the Indians are ready to go down, they choose among the hunters several chiefs to take charge of the trading for the tribe. I find it impossible to give a correct idea of the number who come to trade, for, during the years when they may be at war, they are prevented from hunting. Ordinarily a thousand men, some women, and about six hundred canoes may arrive. Their custom is not to choose any particular camping place when they arrive till a special spot has been assigned to them. And, when they come within a given distance of the fort, they let themselves drift with the current in order that we may have time to see them. Afterwards they set up their wigwams on the bank of the river.

The chief of the tribe enters the fort with one or two of the best qualified of his Indians. The man in charge of the post first makes them a present of a pipe and tobacco. Then the chief makes him a short, complimentary speech, begging his kind consideration for the tribe. The man in charge assures him that he will be satisfied. After the chief has smoked he goes out coolly, without taking leave of anybody. There are no further formalities. He gets his people together, tells them how he has been received, and then, returning to the fort, he

gives the man in charge a present of furs, asking him once more not to forget his tribe (such, Sir, is their common phrase), and not to charge his people so much for merchandise as other tribes, for they are all anxious for bargains. The man in charge assures him again of his friendship and makes him another present of pipes and tobacco so that all his deputies may smoke. The trading is done afterwards outside the fort through a grating in the window, for they never allow the crowd of common Indians to enter. When it is the chief of the tribe who is trading, they make a feast for him outside the fort. They bring a great pot out on the grass containing peas, prunes, and molasses. When the Indians are collected, some person on behalf of the man in charge, seeing them there, begs them to keep up their alliance, presents the calumet to the chief, and makes all the others smoke. After this banquet, they are asked to dance, which they do with pleasure. The chief beginning first, improvises an air on the agreeable way in which he has been received. When he leaves, they give him smoking tobacco for those of other tribes whom he may meet that he may get them to come and trade if they have not yet done so. Tobacco is the best present one can give them. Such is the method in use among the French who were masters of Fort Nelson before His Majesty sent our squadron thither.

I am with devotion,

Sir,

Your very humble, &c.

LETTER VIII

*Our Return to France. Description of a Disease prevalent
in the Hudson Bay Region*

Sir,

HOW dear to us is such a sovereign as our King! How heartily we should desire the prolongation of his days! France owes you such an endless obligation for your continuous attachment and devotion to its preservation. I shall give a good account of this on my return to America. A journey thither can only be undertaken at great risk for I do not find it easy to forget the dangers and hazards I have endured, the ship-wreck and the other misfortunes that pursued me on my voyage to Hudson Bay. Indeed, the sea is so dreadful an element that it has no regard for anybody. It spares neither the honest man nor the rogue, the poor nor the rich, the coward no more than the brave, and when one has escaped its rage like myself, one reckons that as the greatest of good fortune.

We left Fort Nelson on September 24, 1697, which is the date when the rivers and the sea begin to freeze over or very fierce winds prevail. We had been unable to sail sooner on account of our long detention by the ice in the straits, which kept us from arriving in good time before Fort Nelson.

We set sail with the wind south-south-west at an hour after midday. The *Profond*—to which our crew had been transferred from the wreck of the *Pelican*, as well as a party from the *Hudson's Bay*, and from the garrison of the fort—went aground an hour later on the bank or shoal on the north side, in eleven feet of water. As we

still had an hour of flood tide, we got clear and continued our course with a wind from south-south-west. Otherwise, we should have been obliged to transfer some of our three hundred men to the *Weesph*, which had escaped our mischance, and to send back the rest to the fort. We should certainly in that event have suffered a famine there, and also on the *Weesph*, for the latter had only enough provisions for her own crew, and the fort no more than was necessary for the garrison we had left behind in it.

Next day the wind blew very hard. The cold increased because we were getting nearer the pole. The days became very short. The sun no longer was visible, so we could not get an altitude. A storm was indicated. We advanced without knowing where we were, and yet we had to get into the strait. To enter it was a stumbling-block for us, as we were enclosed in a bay, the northern shore of which was quite unknown. We were wandering in a region full of dangers.

The constant working of our rigging exhausted our sailors. The wretched condition we were all in, owing to lack of linen and other clothes, due to our ship-wreck, suddenly brought about an epidemic of scurvy; and I hardly venture to tell you, Sir, that we were all tormented with vermin to such an extent that some of our scurvy patients, who had become paralytics, actually died from this pest. When the sailors came down from the yards, they fell stiff with cold on the deck, and it required the use of fomentations to bring them round again.

Some wanted to go towards the north shore, others to Phelipeaux island. When we came into thirty-five to forty fathoms with a sandy bottom on the north-west, we recognized that there was a great risk in remaining

within two or three leagues of the land, for there is very little leeway if one meets with a gale that may continue for eight and forty hours.

We were running east when we found ourselves by good fortune in the straits. At half past ten o'clock in the evening, we had perceived Salisbury island to windward of us, and, as it was covered with snow, it appeared quite white. It lay north-east by compass about three leagues. The wind from the north a quarter north-east again brought rough weather. We bore east with the two packs along this coast, and on October 2, at break of day, we saw across the strait to Cape Charles, which appeared to lie west-north-west, the coast being all cut up in small islands. The land lying to the east-south-east towards the Bonaventure islands¹ was high, very level, and all covered with snow. We recognized these islands two and half leagues distant at about nine in the morning. They are on the north coast in $63^{\circ} 6''$ by reckoning, 43 degrees variation north-west about fifty-five to fifty-six leagues from Salisbury island. They lie off the entrance to a great inlet, the end of which was out of sight. They bear the name of a Canadian who, as the captain of a light frigate, commanded a vessel some years ago for the Canada Company.

We found no more ice-packs in the strait. There were still some icebergs of great height which had stranded a league or two from the land and had not been able to follow the current. The ice-packs in the bay and in the strait extend more than four hundred leagues. When they begin to break up, they pass out into the sea. These fragments are so large that five or six thousand men could be drawn up in order of battle upon them

¹Probably Big island.

with ease. They usually break up in the month of July and they sometimes travel two hundred leagues in the open sea before being completely melted. Icebergs are not infrequently met with off the Azores of the great banks, and they are so high that the greedy and famished Corsairs take them for ships and give chase. Great is their astonishment when they are ready to board them, to see these fancied ships melt away before their eyes, and all their false hopes vanish into thin air.

At that time the sea was clear. The cold was so piercing that our crew could not endure it and nearly all the sailors took the scurvy. So few of us escaped that we were obliged to make use of our English prisoners in order to run the ship.

On October 5, at midday, we saw the Savage isles to the north-east of us. They are on the north coast a mile or two distant from the mainland, in which there is a great inlet, the mouth of which is four or five leagues across.

On the 6th, we saw Cape Dragon, five leagues distant. It is in north latitude $62^{\circ} 10'$ with variation 38 to the north-west, and about eight o'clock in the morning we recognized Cape Amanquamanca, which is on the southern coast. On the 9th, as we were making our way south-east one quarter south, the Button islands came in sight to the number of eight. They appear much higher than the Resolution islands. They are visible thirty or forty leagues away. They are two leagues from land, and in the space between there is a good passage by the cape called Fleuri. They, with the Resolution islands, form the mouth of the strait, the currents from which bear northward.

We began then to find ourselves out of danger, freed

from those anxieties which had kept us in dread of perishing every moment.

O socii (neque enim ignari summus ante malorum)

O passi graviora, dabit Deus his quoque finem.

The last land we left behind was a place in Labrador which we perceived twenty-five leagues distant, and which still seemed immensely high. Indeed, we may say that this vast coast, which extends from Cape Belle Isle in latitude $59^{\circ} 8'$ to the Button islands, which makes two hundred and two leagues in a straight line, is the very highest land in the world, so that it is visible sometimes forty leagues at sea. All these terrifying sights finally vanished from our view.

Jam satis terris nivis atque dirae

Grandis misit pater.

We had nothing further to do than to pray that heaven would favour the rest of our voyage and to cry out

Ventorumque regat pater;

Obstrictis aliis, praeter Iapiga.

I do not doubt, Sir, that, had you seen me in this state, you would have expressed the same wish that Horace did for his friend Virgil on his departure from Italy for Athens. It is true that the Iapygian wind blew from west-north-west, which would be on our quarter as we sailed for France, and, as we advanced on our voyage, we seemed to be approaching the torrid zone. As the winds drove us along we found ourselves suddenly in another climate. This sudden change caused so many deaths in our vessels that we threw five or six sailors into the sea every day.

It was a plague that had infected our ships. Perhaps you will not be displeased if I give you an idea of it. You will see that I have become a great doctor on this voyage,

and that I have not altogether forgotten the study I made of anatomy while I was taking my course in philosophy.

You must know, then, that the sudden change which takes place in the temperature when one arrives in that climate, after leaving the mildest and most agreeable season of the year, brings about an entire revolution, all at once, in the human body, which contracts a disease peculiar to those regions called the scurvy. Although it attacks people travelling into warm countries as well as those who go to Hudson Bay, the symptoms seem to me to spring from a different cause, since the effects also differ.

The extreme cold, and especially the tremendous quantity of nitre that exists in the straits, form fixed salts which arrest the circulation of the blood. These corrosive spirits give rise to acids, which, little by little, undermine the part where they occur, and the chyle, which becomes viscous, acid, salt, and earthy, causes a thickening of the blood, which, being thus impeded in its circulation, gives rise at the same time to pains in the lower extremities, as in the legs, thighs, and arms, which are the first parts to be attacked.

As these obstructions occur in the veins that carry the blood from the circumference to the heart which is the centre, they form an obstacle that tends to produce edematous tumours.

The parts affected become insensible, blackish, and, when one touches them, there remains a hollow such as one would make in a piece of dough. And as the exostoses, which are met with in the region of the tibia, are only produced by the acids which cause pains between the bone and the periosteum, which is a nerve membrane

that cannot be touched without causing intense pain, it is not surprising that these patients cry out if anyone touches them.

It was most pitiful to see people completely paralysed, so that they could not move themselves in their hammocks, and yet their minds were perfectly sane and clear.

Want of exercise contributes very much to this malady, for, as we were twenty-six days grappled in the ice, this inaction numbed the senses; so, whenever you feel your limbs growing heavy, you must run and climb in order to get rid of this numbness.

But, as the sea used to freeze every day about two inches in the very heat of summer as soon as the sun went down, it was hard for the crews to keep from yielding to a lethargy that rendered them liable to contract this disease.

The food that one is obliged to take at sea contributes not a little to the malady. Thus the quantity of acid in the salt beef and pork that they give the sailors causes a swelling in the gums and an obstruction in the salivary glands, which are intended to filter the lymph with the blood and carry it into the mouth by little ducts so as to serve as the first solvent in digestion. And, as all these little passages are blocked up by the excess of these penetrating salts, there is then spread through the mouth a thick, gluey, and viscous humour. Then the blood, finding these ducts stopped, forms a mass of putrid matter which corrupts the gums, loosens the teeth and causes them all to drop out.

Some have a flux at the mouth, others have dysentery. The former drivel. The viscous matter which flows from the mouth causes gangrene in the glands and in the

gums. They must then be given strong detergent gargles which can separate this thick matter. Lemon juice is very helpful.

Those who have dysentery are more liable to die. In these patients, there is formed in the mesentery an extremely corrosive humour. And as the sub-clavian veins receive the chyle to convey it to the right ventricle of the heart, which contributes to the nutrition of the body of the aorta, as soon as this juice is found to be corrupt, it follows of necessity that there are faintings and heart failures. For, as the heart can only exist by the circulation of a pure, clean, and active blood, any other matter that forms in it cannot help hindering its ordinary course. Hence, some get fevers or simple synochus, others tertian, double tertian, sometimes even fits of quartan. And the gangrene, which forms in the mesentery and the intestines, arrests the laws of the circulation of the blood. The polyps that I saw on the dissection of a corpse produced the same effect. It is particles of curdled blood that cause this great corruption, for they attach themselves to the ventricles of the heart and these, finding their regular movement blocked, cause sudden deaths.

The brain being no longer bathed in its mild influences, receives vapours which cause delirium, madness, and then death. I have seen several who seemed to have a strong voice, a clear eye, and a clear tongue without any blackening or excoriation, and yet they died while they were speaking.

One must use food, therefore, which can dissolve the mass of the blood, such as dissolvents, sudorifics, and diaphoretics, which, by their sulphurous and volatile parts carry off the acids by an insensible transpiration,

dissipate the crudities of the mass, and are able to rally together the fibres of the blood by good food, giving the patients very little salt meat, but rice, peas, dried beans, detersivent injections, and astringent opiates, into which cordials enter; giving them plenty of fresh linen, which is a great relief in such cases.

This sickness only increases the appetite. The patients are as ravenous as dogs. It must be due to the irritation produced by the strength of the acids in the glands of the third tunic of the ventricle. I was not surprised, Sir, that this sudden change of climate on our return voyage should have caused so many deaths on our ships. There was a fermentation going on in the mass of the blood, which caused a gangrenous corruption. The heat wished to dilate what the cold had contracted; there was bound to be a combat. And nature, enfeebled by the dilation of the pores, caused an overflow which threw the whole machine out of gear.

The different character of the scurvy in warm countries comes from the bad water which causes corruption in the mouth and gradually makes its way into the noble parts. And on the contrary from the climate of cold countries, when vessels return to France from those which are hot, the change to the climate which is cold as they arrive recloses the pores which, being blocked, arrest the circulation of the blood, already corrupted, and this produces a chaos and disorder within, which suffocates a man.

Finally after so many pains, labours, and misfortunes, we arrived at Belle Isle on November 8. We proceeded to put our scurried patients in the hospital of Port Louis, and we set out from there for Rochefort, where we discharged our ship.

Hic labor extremus, longarum haec meta viarum.

Thanks to the Lord I have escaped, Sir, the most dreadful country in the world. I do not think that they will *catch* me there again, me above all men, who was born in the torrid zone. It is only right that each should go through his noviciate.

The enterprise that we have just completed cannot fail to be very glorious to the arms of the King. This motto is quite proper. *Quae non maria*. Indeed, the activity and ardour with which our minister looks after everything that can conduce to the King's glory impelled him to send out that squadron to advance and extend it to the antarctic [*sic?*] pole. Everything has assisted his plans notwithstanding the many misfortunes that happened to us.

For the rest, even though France should not hold these regions, the fur trade of Canada would not suffer; on the contrary, it would improve. This superabundance of peltries from Hudson Bay can only work injury to the former if we keep up this fort, especially in time of peace. The merchants of Canada would, in that case, be obliged to sell their wares very cheap to the Indians. They are beginning to give up furs in France and they even neglect to wear fur tippets on account of a new fashion of making them of little ribbons.

Besides, this voyage can only be made at great risk, through almost insurmountable toils and dangers. The ships return to France all corroded and battered by the ice, and after losing most of their men by scurvy. As Rochefort was the end of our journey, so this shall end my letter, with the assurance that no one can be with more devotion than I am, Sir,

Your very humble &c.

LETTER IX

Description of the River St. Lawrence up to Quebec, the Capital of New France. How the French discovered this Continent, and the Progress that has been made in its Evangelization.

Madam,

ALL your gracious manners, and that generous heart which I have found in you for all my concerns when I made use of your influence at court, have made so deep and so vivid an impression upon my mind that my family, which has the honour of being related to you, had good reason for telling me that I should find in you, Madam, still more than they had led me to expect. As to myself, who for some years have lost the taste, delicacy, and politeness of France, I am no longer able to express in proper terms the thanks that I should render to you.

You will permit me, Madam, to tell you that I have become a real Iroquois. Allow me, then, to give you an introduction to the new world by the letter which I have the honour of writing to you.

Of all long voyages that to New France as far as the Gulf of St. Lawrence is the easiest. For the pilots who know the great banks find an easy entrance, passing between Cape Race [*de Retz*] in the island of Newfoundland, and North cape in the island of Cape Breton, now called Isle Royale. Between these two islands lies the island of St. Paul, about eighteen leagues distant from Cape Race and five from North cape. The ships pass between these two capes.

The Gulf of St. Lawrence has, as its eastern barrier,

the large island of Newfoundland, which is almost the size of England, so that it is about one hundred leagues wide.

Eskimos inhabit the north shore, which is the mainland of Labrador, extending five hundred leagues to Cape Digges, latitude $61^{\circ} 45'$, at the entrance of Hudson Bay. This coast is the loftiest in the world. In fine weather it is visible forty leagues away. These people are so utterly savage and cruel that it is impossible to trade with them. They eat their food and fish raw.

The southern shore, inhabited by the Abenakis, is a beautiful country. It produces corn, but I must not take time to describe the country rendered so agreeable by the rivers, the great meadows, the beautiful trees, the abundance of wild geese, ducks, teal, plovers, snipe, turtle-doves, hares, partridge, grouse, and other kinds of game which we do not see in Europe, like wood-ducks, which perch in the branches of trees, to say nothing of the fish and the catching of cod.

I will only add that the ships which wish to enter the river usually come up till they recognize Isle Percée, which is at the outer end of this vast country. This island is a rock near Cape Gaspé, about three hundred and sixty feet high, escarped down to the foot on both sides, and surrounded by twenty-four feet of shallow water. One can walk from terra firma dryshod all around it. It is about four hundred paces in length. It was formerly larger, extending to Cape Montjoli which is within a gunshot, but the sea has sapped it at the foot and a part of it has broken away. There is an opening like an arcade through which a Biscayen shallop could pass in full sail. When I went by that island, I thought it was the cave of which Virgil tells

where Proteus returned when he was guarding the flocks and the sea cows of Neptune.

There is a great grotto, says Virgil, in a rock where the winds force the waves which break as they roll into it. Ships in danger at times take refuge there and Proteus hides within the depths of the cave.

Isle Percée is a very important place for the cod fishery, which is very good there. Ships anchor quite close by four cables, and set out floats to support them on account of the rocky bottom. The fishermen build their scaffolds along the shore of the mainland, on which they *dress* the cod. There was a convent of Récollets in the neighbourhood which was burned by the English in the late war.

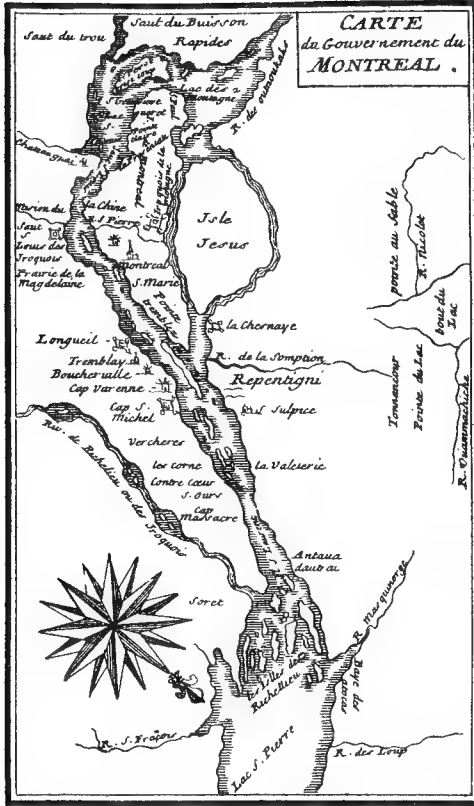
You have scarcely left this island when you catch sight of Cape Rosiers at the entrance to the river St. Lawrence, the finest river in all America.

If Virgil had known it, he would have doubtless called it the king of rivers, and would not have so greatly exaggerated the Po by giving it the title *fluviorum rex Eridanus*. The St. Lawrence is twenty-five leagues wide at its mouth and runs from south-west to north-east.

You perceive in the distance to the south the mountains of Notre Dame, the summits of which are covered with snow in the hottest season of the year.

This sight so frightened the Spaniards, who were the first to discover Canada, that they gave the place the name of Capo di Nada, which means "Point No Point", and they conceived so bad an opinion of this vast country that they disdained pushing their discovery any further.

Jacques Cartier, one of the ablest pilots of his time, was more fortunate than Jean Verrazano of Florence, who, by order of Francis the First, discovered all the



MAP OF THE DISTRICT OF MONTREAL

From Bacqueville de la Potherie, *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1753),
Volume I

coast from Florida to the mouth of the river St. Lawrence in 1524. Cartier wished to win distinction by the discovery of some new land, and set out from St. Malo on April 20, 1534. He recognized the lands and the capes which lie north and south of the mouth of this river. The favourable account which he gave of them that same year on his return to France made Francis the First send him back to penetrate as far as he could into this unknown land. He had the advantage of being the first to enter the river, and it was he who gave the names still in use to-day to the islands, the capes, the harbours, and all the most important places as far as Montreal, which is one hundred and twenty-eight leagues from the mouth of the river.

The excessive cold, the extraordinary severity of the winter season, and the prevalence of scurvy, quite discouraged him. All the measures which he had taken to lay the foundations of a colony were thus made ineffective, and the court relinquished for some years this glorious design.

To recount all the steps that were taken at a subsequent period to complete the plans begun by Cartier would lead me into too much detail. In a word, M. de Champlain, the King's geographer and one of his naval captains, by the aid of the credit and wealth of M. de Monts, a nobleman of the court of Henry the Fourth, brought to a glorious conclusion what several others before him had attempted. He laid the first foundations in the spot which was to be, as it is to-day, the capital of New France, when he built, in 1603 [*sic*], a house which served him at once as a store and a fort to protect him from the affronts of the savages.

There is no navigation more dangerous than that of

this river, and, however great may be the experience of the pilots who sail upon it, they find it difficult to bring their ships through. The sand banks of Manikouagan on the north coast are to be feared. I was wrecked there in 1698. We saw, during a fog, the fire of four guns discharged quite suddenly from the King's ships which we had joined three days before. Our captain inferred correctly that they were afraid of going aground, and, as he thought we were near the south shore, he put about. No sooner had we done so than we struck bottom under full sail at midnight. I cannot describe the terror of the crew and of a dozen merchants who were coming to trade. Truly those people who are not accustomed to such accidents suffer much. Of a sudden there was such tumult and disorder that, seeing neither sky nor sea, we heard nothing but cries and groans. A little firmness and presence of mind is of great service in such sad moments. I had been three times ship-wrecked during the same year. I escaped more luckily than in Hudson Bay. I knew, therefore, what to do in such a situation. I encouraged all these frightened men and we got the shallop into the sea with a great deal of trouble. We were only aground on a point of shifting sand, and the sea, which had been running high all night, now grew calm. We remained in this condition five or six hours, being a long league distant from the land, which at this point was lined with rocky reefs between which the sea was breaking. Finally, we got away from there without further injury.

There are many whales to be seen in the river. The Basques carried on a local fishery there some years ago, and, if they had not amused themselves by stealing away secretly all the peltries of Tadoussac and the neighbour-

hood, they would not have found their efforts frustrated in the long run.

It is difficult to arrive at Quebec at the first attempt unless one has a good north-west wind. The ships usually anchor at Tadoussac which is eighty leagues from the mouth of the St. Lawrence. The river Saguenay flows into it at this point. All the banks are covered with tall trees. There is no bottom to be found for several leagues on entering the river, and, when a vessel has to come to, it must be tied to a tree on the shore if it cannot anchor in some little roadstead.

When the tide is high at the mouth of the river it is also so at Chicoutimi, which is twenty-five leagues up the Saguenay. This tide, apparently so irregular, would seem most extraordinary, if one did not know the cause, which is quite a natural one. It rises for six hours at Tadoussac. When the tide is at half flood at the mouth of the river two hours after it has begun to come in, it is only commencing at Chicoutimi, where it takes four to rise. But the swift flow of the current repelling the rising tide only allows it time to rise gradually two hours and a half till it is in equilibrium from Chicoutimi to the mouth of the river, so that, when the tide is high at Tadoussac, it is so at the same time at Chicoutimi. This great swiftness is due to the fact that the river is narrowed by the fall of a mountain overturned by an earthquake, which forms the peninsula called Chicoutimi, and, as there was already a rapid above which increased the speed of the current, we must not be surprised that the tide has such difficulty in rising. Tadoussac is important for the trade in the finest furs especially in martens. There is a company of merchants in Quebec who every year pay a certain price to the Farmers-General of the Canada Com-

pany to get permission to be the sole traders with the Saguenay Indians. The Montagnais inhabit these regions. Formerly they looked with disdain upon the other tribes, thinking themselves the true noblemen of the region. They were superstitious in the highest degree, devoted to their magic tricks, and entirely devoid of any form of religion. When asked who had made heaven and earth, they could not tell. "If we had been there we might have known something about it", they used to answer. As to the land, it was *Michaboche* who made it. They gave an account of its creation with a mixture of fable which suggested the story of the flood. They believed that there were spirits in the air which have the power of predicting things, and, when we wished to give them the knowledge of the true God, they answered that they would like to know Him in order to find out whether He was able to give them elks [*sic*] and beavers. The conversion of these people has been the work of heaven through the care of zealous missionaries.

In the disposition of the first missions which Father Denis Jamay, first superior of the Récollets, established in New France with M. Champlain, Father Jean Dolbeau was chosen to proclaim the gospel to these nations. He built in this district a little lodge in which he arranged a chapel like one of the Indian cabins, where the natives could assemble. He learned in a very short time to understand and to use the language of these barbarians.

He laboured hard in his endeavour to look after these people and to visit them in their places of meeting, for they were constantly on the move, having no fixed places of abode. He made his way as far as the Betsiamites, the Papinancois, and the Esquimos, planting everywhere the sign of salvation [the cross], so that many years later

people discovered the results of the zeal of this first missionary.

The Jesuits are now in possession of this mission at Chicoutimi. The climate there is much more severe than in Quebec, although it is only forty leagues higher up the river. If the Indian, or Turkish, corn, and the corn of France [wheat] could mature there, several nations might be settled in that region. It is possible to travel from there to Hudson Bay by way of rivers and lakes, making various portages. A portage is the stretch of land over which we pass from one river to another. The distance in traversing this route is not more than eighty leagues, and you have to go seven or eight hundred by sea, following the shore of the mouth of the river, along the coast of Labrador, passing through Hudson straits, which are one hundred and thirty-six leagues long, going north as far as latitude 63° and then south to latitude 51° at the lower end of the bay to Kichichouanne, a port belonging to the English.

The river St. Lawrence is filled with a number of beautiful, tree-covered islands which have very dangerous shoals of sand. The passage by the Isle aux Coudres, which is thirty-five leagues above Tadoussac, is easily recognized, being only a short half league from the mainland. The pilots keep to the middle of the channel or a little nearer the island than the mainland. It is very difficult to keep in the channel which is tortuous and extremely rapid. There is a whirlpool of great depth so that one needs a good tide and a strong wind to get up through this passage. Otherwise, the ship, ceasing to answer the helm, will be whirled around by the speed of the current and carried into the rocks which are on the level of the water and into the eddies of the northern

shore. Earthquakes have created great disorder in this island and on the mainland by causing the fall of great mountains into the sea. Doubtless this has had something to do with the formation of this whirlpool.

After having made this passage you cross the bay of St. Paul which belongs to M. de Laval, the first bishop of Quebec. It is notable for the finest masts in Canada.

I visited its pine groves which are inexhaustible. I noticed three species of firs. One has leaves the length and width of the iron point of a tricing-line, and they are like a row of points along the branch. This species also has leaves all around, but they are clearer and more separated and they do not prick.

It is called Prussian. It is much closer in grain than the others. The masts of Norway have passed for the best because of their close grain, which is due to the fact that these trees, growing on the mountains, have their stumps dry so that the intense cold of these regions prevents the wood from getting sap enough to enlarge the grain. Those of Acadia are not good between Le Havre, which is in latitude 44° , and the mouth of the St. Lawrence, because the temperate climate renders the grain much coarser.

But those which come from New France, principally from St. Paul's bay, have all the best qualities. The trees grow on the sides of extremely high mountains the waters of which flow into the sea and into a little river. The climate is cold, but the sun, drying up by its force the superfluous moisture of these trees, renders them more close-grained and gives them a stronger tension which makes their quality better than that given to the Norwegian trees by the cold.

There is another still better quality of wood, *viz.*, the

red pine. The trees are not so large as the others although they have been found measuring thirty inches in diameter and twelve feet around at the stump, and they are so supple that they rarely break in storms. M. de Laval has a saw-mill there where they sometimes make twenty thousand planks a year. There is a village two leagues above at a little river, which they call "les habitants de la Baye Saint Paul." They have one hundred and fifty farms of value from which they took, in 1699, nine hundred *minots* of corn, one hundred of peas, and forty of oats. There is very good hunting and fishing, especially of the seal.

New France does not begin at this bay although it is but fifteen leagues from Quebec, one hundred and five from the mouth of the river, and there are habitants in several places, and a parish at Malbaye, which is six leagues below the bay.

Jacques Cartier places the land or province of Quebec eight leagues above St. Paul at some islands which lie across from Cape Tourmente, from which you can discern to the north and south of this cape the habitations which to-day form the colony.

This promontory is so high that one could see it from more than twenty leagues' distance if it was on the shore of the open sea. It forms part of a mountain chain five or six hundred leagues long. Among the opposite islands, Isle aux Oies is renowned for the best butter in the country, and for the pastures on its shores, and for the wild geese and ducks which come there in immense flocks in the months of April and September.

There is a conflict at Cape Tourmente between the fresh water and that from the sea. The crossing there is very dangerous. However well the pilots may know it,

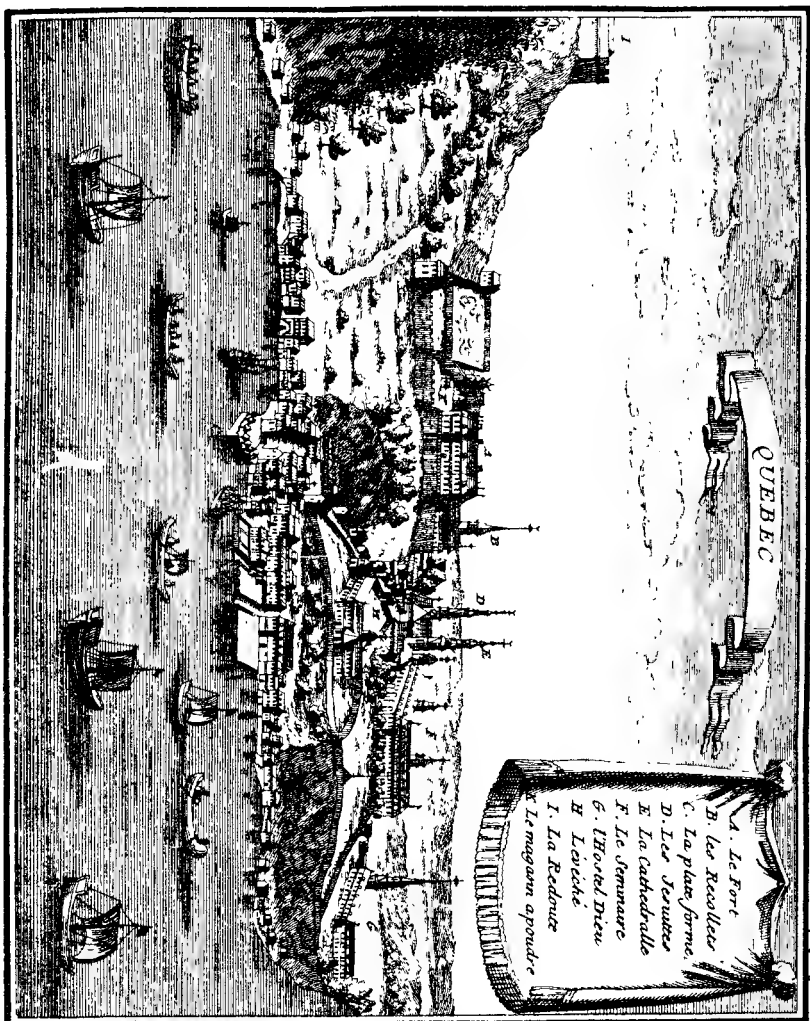
the safest way to make it is to use the sounding-line in going up the river, waiting for wind and tide, and to take it at high tide going down from Quebec.

The first land seen at the foot of this cape is the seigniory of Beaupré, which is the property of M. de Laval. It is five leagues long. His domain extends two leagues, consisting of meadow, woodland, and a league of arable land. I saw there a very fine château of cut stone, a hundred and fifty feet long, which cost sixty thousand livres to build. The barn and the stables are equally large. There is a wall of six hundred feet front by two hundred wide which is not yet completed; and all these constructions are valued at fifty thousand crowns. There is excellent pasturage. They count two hundred and fifty horned cattle.

This seigniory contains three parishes in which there are more than one thousand inhabitants. The farms are good and are valued at 2,462 crowns. They took off, in 1699, 14,515 *minots*¹ of corn, although there was a famine everywhere in Canada, without reckoning 881 *minots* of peas, and 3,270 of oats. There are 1,144 head of cattle. I found it hard to learn the revenue of this land because the seminary to which the property belongs takes all its provisions from it in kind. As far as I could judge, it would yield twelve to fourteen thousand livres income.

The island of Orleans is between this shore and that to the south. It is six leagues long and two across. It was made a county under the name of St. Lawrence, in 1676, for M. Berthelot, general commissioner of artillery, powder, and saltpetre from France. There is a high, middle, and low court of justice. The dwellings, which are

¹A minot was equal to 1.07 British bushels.



Tom. I. pag. 372.

A VIEW OF QUEBEC

From Baqueville de la Pothiere, *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1753), Volume I

all around on the shores, are very pleasing to the eye with their woods and rustic background melting gradually into the mountains. The land is very good, some of it being valued at four thousand crowns and producing, these last few years, some 12,000 *minots* of corn.

Quebec is two leagues to the south-west beyond the island of Orleans. There is a river a short half league from there called Cabir-Coubat by the natives because of the twists and turns it makes. Jacques Cartier gave it the name of Ste. Croix because he reached it on that day. It was there he first wintered. It is now called the St. Charles in memory of M. Charles des Boues, grand vicar of Pontoise, who founded the first Récollet mission in New France. They built a convent there, in 1620, under the name of *Notre Dame des Anges*, in a kind of little island surrounded with great woods through which meander beautiful rivulets.

The bishop has bought this property from the order and placed a hospital there, built with great magnificence and tended very faithfully by the hospitalers.

The county of Orsainville is on this river. His Majesty wishing to reward M. Talon, the intendant of the country, for his services, united together, in the year 1671, the *Bourg Royal*, the *Bourg la Reine*, and the *Bourg Talon* into the barony Des Islets, which was made, in 1675, the county of Orsainville. His heirs sold it to the bishop who added it to the estates of the general hospital.

Two leagues up the river is the village of Nouvelle Lorette inhabited by the Hurons under government of the Jesuits. The church is modelled on those of Italy. Two years ago the Hurons were in another place close by which they have left because the land was growing barren for their Indian corn.

This tribe was originally from a great lake called Huron, three hundred and sixty leagues from Quebec. It was the proudest and most formidable tribe of all these regions; even the Iroquois were afraid of them. Yet it was the Iroquois who subdued and almost exterminated them. They pretended to make an alliance, but the Hurons believed too blindly in their protestations of friendship. The Iroquois found means to surprise them later and threw them into great disorder, forcing some to fly to Quebec and others to the south.

All their neighbours learned with terror of their defeat, being no longer safe from the raids which the Iroquois used to make when they were least expected. Although thus dispersed, the Hurons did not cease to find some way of maintaining the first alliance which they had made with the French in the time of M. de Champlain. They established themselves on the island of Orleans, whither the Iroquois came again bearing fire and sword within sight of Quebec, and the governor-general, who himself apprehended an attack, was unable to give the Hurons assistance. The families which managed to escape placed themselves entirely under the protection of the French.

There are some of the same nation living at Michillimackinac among the Ottawas. They are our allies. Yet they have given us a great deal of trouble in these late wars against the Iroquois and the English. They wished an alliance with the English so as to be able to trade with them, thinking this more profitable than their trade with the French whose merchandise they found dearer. At the same time, they were very well pleased to make friends with the Iroquois in order to have freedom from interference with their hunting or their arrange-

ments with the English. Le Baron, one of the craftiest of their chiefs, has given us a great deal of trouble with all his ruses and stratagems. At one time he would be our friend, and at another he would block all the plans of our other allies who were bent on the destruction of the Iroquois. The Hurons may rightly be called very politic, treacherous in their movements, and exceedingly proud. They have much more intelligence than the other Indians. They are generous, and show much delicacy in their conversation. They are good speakers, insinuating in their manners, and are rarely taken in by anyone whatever. Christianity has done much to correct the faults among those settled at Lorette, where they live in complete subordination to the missionaries.

This village is close to Charlesbourg, which is opposite Quebec to the west-north-west, two leagues inland, and is under the seigniorship of the Jesuits. It is one of the largest villages of New France.

I will not speak of several villages which are in the environs of Quebec, nor of the seigniorship of Beauport which is on the north shore. It is separated from Beaupré by the falls of Montmorency, a very beautiful waterfall two hundred and fifty feet high. The falls, which are very wide, plunge precipitously into an abyss and on to a great rock, causing a continual rain. One passes a little gulf about three hundred feet in extent, in which the water is enclosed with only a little streamlet of water coming from the basin when the tide is low.

Here you have some idea of what is of special interest as far as Quebec.

I am, with profound respect,

Madam,

Your very humble, &c.

NARRATIVE IV

THE HISTORY OF HUDSON'S-BAY

Containing an Account of its Discovery and Settlement, the Progress of it, and the present State; of the Indians, Trade, and everything else relating to it: Being the last chapter of volume I of *The British Empire in America*, by John Oldmixon (London, 1708)

The British Empire
 IN
AMERICA,
 Containing
 The HISTORY of the Discovery, Settlement,
 Progress and present State of all the
British Colonies,
 ON THE
 Continent and Islands of *America.*

 In Two VOLUMES.

Being an Account of the Country, Soil, Climate, Product and Trade of them, *Viz.*

Vol. I. <i>Newfoundland,</i> <i>New-Scotland,</i> <i>New-England,</i> <i>New-York,</i> <i>New-Jersey,</i> <i>Pensylvania,</i> <i>Maryland,</i> <i>Virginia,</i>	<i>Carolina,</i> and <i>Hudson's-Bay.</i> Vol. II. <i>Barbados,</i> <i>St. Lucia,</i> <i>St. Vincents,</i> <i>Dominico,</i> <i>Antego,</i>	<i>Montserrat,</i> <i>Nevis,</i> <i>St. Christophers,</i> <i>Barbuda,</i> <i>Anguilla,</i> <i>Jamaica,</i> <i>The Bahama,</i> and <i>Bermudas</i>
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} Islands.

With curious Maps of the several Places, done from the newest Surveys. By *Herman Moll*, Geographer.

LONDON, Printed for *John Nicholson* at the King's Arms in
Little Britain, *Benjamin Tooke* at the *Middle-Temple-Gate*,
Fleetstreet, and *Richard Parker* and *Ralph Smith* under the
Piazza of the *Royal Exchange*. 17c8.

TITLE-PAGE OF JOHN OLDMIXON, *THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN AMERICA* (LONDON, 1708), VOLUME I

NARRATIVE IV

THE HISTORY OF HUDSON'S-BAY CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF ITS DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT, THE PROGRESS OF IT, AND THE PRESENT STATE; OF THE INDIANS, TRADE, AND EVERY THING ELSE RE- LATING TO IT

'T WAS in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, that all the *English* Dominions on the Continent of *America* were discover'd, except *Hudson's* Streights; which being the most Northerly, should have been treated of first, and put at the Head of the other Settlements; but the *French* have a large Dominion between the *English* at *Hudson's Bay*, and those at *New England*: And besides there being no Towns nor Plantations in this Country, but two or three poor Forts to defend the Factories, we thought we were at Liberty to place it where we pleas'd, and were loath to let our History open with the Description of so miserable a Wilderness, and so wretched a Colony. For as rich as the Trade to these Parts have been or may be, the way of Living is such, that we cannot reckon any Man happy, whose Lot is cast upon this Bay.

In the Year 1576, Cap. *Martin Frobisher* made his first Voyage for the Discovery of a Passage to *China* and *Cathay* by the North-West; and on the 12th of *June* he discover'd *Tierra de Labrador*, in 63 Degrees 8 Minutes, and enter'd a Streight, which is call'd by his Name.

On the 1st of *October* he return'd to *England*. In the following Year, he went a second time on the same Discovery, came to the same Streight, and us'd all possible Means to bring the Natives to Trade, or give him some Account of themselves; but they were so wild, that they only study'd to destroy the *English*. Cap. *Frobisher* stay'd here till Winter drew on, and then he return'd to *England*. He made the same Voyage the following Year, and with the like Success.

Six Years afterwards, *A. D.* 1585. *John David* sail'd from *Dartmouth* on the same Adventure, came into the Latitude of 64 Degrees 15 Minutes, and proceeded to 66 Degrees 40 Minutes. In the Year ensuing, he ran to 66 Degrees 20 Minutes, and coasted Southward again to 56 Degrees. Sailing thence in 54 Degrees, he found an open Sea tending Westward, which he hop'd might be the Passage so long sought for; but the Weather proving tempestuous, he return'd to *England*. In *October*, the next Year, he did the same.

After which there were no more Adventures this way, till the Year 1607, when Cap. *Henry Hudson* discover'd as far as 80 Degrees 23 Minutes: At the Mention of which, the Reader will almost freeze as the Writer does; for that Country is so prodigiously cold, that Nature is never impregnated by the Sun; or rather, her barren Womb produces nothing for the Subsistence of Man. In 1608. he set out again; and, having added little to his former Discoveries, return'd. Two Years after which, *A. D.* 1610. he again undertook a Voyage to find out the North-West Passage, proceeded 100 Leagues farther than any Man had done before him, till he could not go forward for Ice and Shoal Water; and finding himself imbay'd, he resolv'd to winter there.

In the Spring, *A. D.* 1611. pursuing a further Discovery, he and seven more of his Company were seiz'd, the rest of his Men put into an open Boat, and committed to the Mercy of the Waves and Savages. By one or the other of which he perish'd, dearly purchasing the Honour of having this large Streight and Bay call'd after his Name.

We know 'tis pretended, that a *Dane* made the Discovery of this Streight, and that he call'd it *Christiana*, from the King of *Denmark*, *Christiern* the IVth. then reigning. But Cap. *Hudson* was the Man who discover'd it to the *English*, and who indeed first sail'd so near the Bottom of the Bay, as he did within a Degree or two.

The same Year that he dy'd, Sir *Thomas Button*, at the Instigation of Prince *Henry*, pursu'd the same Discovery. He pass'd *Hudson's* Streights, and leaving *Hudson's-Bay* to the South, settled above 200 Leagues to the South-West, and discover'd a great Continent, by him call'd *New-Wales*. He winter'd at the Place afterwards call'd *Port Nelson*, carefully search'd all the Bay, from him call'd *Button's Bay*, and return'd to *Digg's* Island.

In 1516. Mr. *Baffin* enter'd Sir *Thomas Smith's* Bay, in 78 Degrees, and return'd despairing to find any Passage that way.

Thus we see all the Adventures made to the North West, were in Hopes of passing to *China*; but that is a Discovery as latent as the Philosophers Stone, the petual Motion, or the Longitude.

In 1631. Cap. *James* sail'd to the North-West, and roving up and down in those Seas, arriv'd at *Charlton* Island, where he winter'd in 52 Degrees, much beyond *Hudson*, *Button*, and *Baffin*. Cap. *Fox* went out this

Year on the same Account, but proceeded no further than Port *Nelson*.

The Civil Wars in *England* put Discoveries out of Mens Heads; the Bold had other Work cut out for them; and we hear of no more such Adventures till the Year 1667.¹ when *Zachariah Gillam*, in the *Nonsuch* Ketch, pass'd thro *Hudson's* Streights, and then into *Baffin's* Bay to 75 Degrees; and thence Southward into 51 Degrees; where in a River, afterwards call'd Prince *Rupert's* River, he had a friendly Correspondence with the Natives, built a Fort, nam'd it *Charles Fort*, and return'd with Success.

The Occasion of *Gillam's* going was this: Monsieur *Radison* and Monsieur *Gooselier*, two *French-men*, meeting with some Savages in the Lake of *Assimponals*, in *Canada*, they learnt of them that they might go by Land to the Bottom of the Bay, where the *English* had not yet been. Upon which they desir'd them to conduct them thither, and the Savages accordingly did it. The two *French-men* return'd to the upper Lake the same way they came, and thence to *Quebec*, the Capital of *Canada*; where they offer'd the principal Merchants to carry Ships to *Hudson's-Bay*, but their Project was rejected. Thence they went to *France*, in hopes of a more favourable Hearing at Court; but after presenting several Memorials, and spending a great deal of Time and Money, they were answer'd as they had been at *Quebec*, and their Project look'd upon as Chimerical. The King of *England's* Ambassador at *Paris*, hearing what Proposals they had made,

¹Gillam sailed from Gravesend on June 3, 1668, in the *Nonsuch*, with Groseilliers on board, while Radisson was in the *Eaglet*, which, however, was damaged in a storm and obliged to return. The above date is given in Captain Gillam's journal, quoted by Joseph Robson in *An Account of Six Years' Residence in Hudson's Bay*, and is confirmed by Mr. Charles V. Sale, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, in an account of *Lower Fort Garry* (London, 1929).

imagin'd he should do his Country good Service, in engaging them to serve the *English*, who had already Pretences to the Bay: So he perswaded them to go for *London*; where they met with a favourable Reception from some Men of Quality, Merchants, and others, who employ'd *Gillam* before-mention'd, a *New England* Captain, in the Voyage; and *Radison* and *Gooselier* accompanying, they arriv'd at the Bottom of the Bay, and succeeded as we have hinted already.

When *Gillam* return'd, the Adventurers concern'd in fitting him out, apply'd themselves to King *Charles* the II^d. for a Pattent; who granted one to them and their Successors, for the Bay call'd *Hudson's-Bay*, and the Streights call'd *Hudson's-Streights*. The Pattent bears Date the 2^d. of *May*, in the 22^d. Year of that King's Reign, *A. D.* 1670.

The first Proprietors or Company, call'd the *Hudson's-Bay Company*, were,

Prince <i>Rupert</i> .	Mr. <i>Richard Cradock</i> .
Sir <i>James Hayes</i> .	Mr. <i>John Letton</i> .
Mr. <i>William Young</i> .	<i>Christopher Wrenn</i> , Esq;
Mr. <i>Gerard Weymans</i> .	Mr. <i>Nicholas Hayward</i> .

The Bay lies from 64 Degrees North Latitude to 51 Degrees, and is 10 Degrees, or 600 Miles in Length.

Before we proceed any further in the History, it will not be improper to give an Account of the Country, Climate, Product, Trade, and Inhabitants.

The Mouth of the Streights, which is in about 61 Degrees North Latitude, is 6 Leagues over, At the Mouth is an Island, call'd *Resolution*. *Charles* Island, *Salisbury* Island, and *Nottingham*, are in the Streights, and *Mansfield* Island in the Mouth of the Bay.

Hudson's Streights, which lead to the Bay, are about 120 Leagues in Length; the Land on both Sides inhabited by Savages, of whom we have little or no Knowledge. The South Coast is known by the Name of the *Tierra Labrador*, the North by as many Names as Men of several Nations have been there, and pretended to the Discovery of it. On the West Side of the Bay, the *English* made a Settlement, built a Fort at Port *Nelson*, and all that Country goes by the Name of *New South Wales*. The Bay here is call'd *Button's*; and *Hudson's-Bay*, which is broadest in this Place, may be near 130 Leagues broad.

On the other Shoar, or the Coast of *Labrador* lie several Islands, call'd the *Sleepers* Isles, and the *Baker's Dozen*. The Bottom of the Bay, by which we understand all that Part of it from Cape *Henrietta Maria*, in *New South Wales*, to *Redonda*, below Prince *Rupert's* River, is about 80 Leagues long, and much of one Breadth all the way, being between 40 and 50 Leagues over.

Here are several Islands, to which the first Adventurers gave the Names of some Great Men in *England*, or some that employ'd them; as Lord *Weston's* Island, Sir *Thomas Roe's* Island, *Charlton* Island, and others. The two opposite Shores are call'd the *East Main* and *West Main*. The former is *Labrador*, and the latter *New South Wales*. The Continent at the Bottom of the Bay is by the *French* pretended to be Part of *New-France*; and indeed to cross the Country from St. *Margaret's* River, which runs into the River of *Canada*, to *Rupert's* River, at the Bottom of *Hudson's-Bay*, is not above 150 Miles.¹

¹The distance in a straight line from Three Rivers, at the mouth of the St. Maurice river, on the St. Lawrence, to the mouth of Rupert's river on James bay, is four hundred and sixty miles.

At *Rupert's* River, the *English* built their first Fort, which they call *Charles* Fort. They never had any Towns or Plantations here, and probably never will. They live within their Forts in little Houses, or Hutts, wherein the Builders consider nothing but to defend them from the Cold and Rains, tho they are not so much disturb'd by the latter as by the former.

There's an Island about 5 or 6 Leagues from the *West Main*, call'd the *Little Rocky Isle*, it being a meer Heap of Rocks and Stones, with some small Brush-Wood growing upon it. 'Tis suppos'd to overflow with great North-West Winds, which make a High-Tide all over the Bay. In this Isle is plenty of Gulls and Sea Swallows. About 3 Miles from the South South-East Part of the Island, lies a dangerous Reaf of Sand, which is dry at Low-Water.

Charlton Island is a light white Sand, cover'd over with a white Moss, full of Trees, Juniper and Spruce, tho not very large. This Isle affords a beautiful Prospect to such as make it in the Spring, after a long Voyage of 3 or 4 Months, in the most dangerous Seas in the World, occasion'd by the vast Mountains of Ice, which drive in the Bay and Streights; against which, if Ships happen to strike, they are dash'd in Pieces as certainly as if they ran against Rocks: For indeed they are Rocks congeal'd, or rather petrify'd by the Violence of the continual Frosts.

To see one Day the Shoar on the *West Main* bare, the Mountains cover'd with Snow, and Nature looking like a Carcass frozen to Death; and the next to behold *Charlton* Island spread with Trees, and the Branches making as it were a green Tuft of the whole, is a Surprise, that must give the greatest Pleasure after the Fatigues

of an intollerable Winter Voyage.

The Air even at the Bottom of the Bay, tho by the Latitude 'tis nearer the Sun than *London*, being but in 51 Degrees, is excessive cold for 9 Months, the other three Months very hot, but on a North-West Wind.

The Soil on the *East Main*, as well as the West, bears no manner of Grain. Some Fruits, Gooseberries, Strawberries, and Dew Otter-berries, grow about Prince *Rupert's* River.

The commodities for Trade here, are Guns, Powder, Shot, Cloth, Hatchets, Kettles, Tobacco, &c. which the *English* exchange with the *Indians* for Furrs, Beavers, Martin, Fox, Moose, and other Peltry; and the Curious, who have any Taste of Commerce, will not think it a Digression to insert a Standard of Trade, which the *Hudson's-Bay Company* fix'd about 25 Years ago; and by which may be seen what Advantage they made of this Traffick. This Paper being put into my Hands, among others relating to the Affairs of the Company, is as follows.

The S T A N D A R D how the *Company's* Goods must be barter'd in the *Southern* Part of the *Bay*.

Guns.	<i>One with the other 10 good Skins; that is, Winter Beaver; 12 Skins for the biggest sort, 10 for the mean, and 8 for the smallest.</i>
Powder.	<i>A Beaver for half a Pound.</i>
Shot.	<i>A Beaver for four Pounds.</i>
Hatchets.	<i>A Beaver for a great and little Hatchet.</i>
Knives.	<i>A Beaver for 6 great Knives, or 8 Jack Knives.</i>

Beads.	<i>A Beaver for half a Pound of Beads.</i>
Lac'd Coats.	<i>Six Beavers for one good Lac'd Coat.</i>
Plain Coats.	<i>Five Beaver Skins for one Red Plain Coat.</i>
Coats.	<i>For Women, Lac'd, 2 Yards, 6 Beavers.</i>
Coats.	<i>For Women, Plain, 5 Beavers.</i>
Tobacco.	<i>A Beaver for one Pound.</i>
Powder- Horns	<i>A Beaver for a large Powder-Horn and two small ones.</i>
Kettles.	<i>A Beaver for one Pound of Kettle.</i>
Looking-Glasses and Combs.	<i>Two Skins.</i>

'Tis plain by this Standard the Company got prodigiously, and had they traded much, their Auctions might have been now 300 *per Cent.* as they were once; but their Returns were small, and their Charges great: Ten thousand Beavers in all their Factories was one of the best Years of Trade they ever had, besides other Peltry.

As to the *Indians*, their Manners, Customs, Language, Government, and Religion, they are the same with the *Canadans*; and *La Hontan* has describ'd them very naturally, excepting that he has rais'd Nature, and made her too polite in this barbarous Clime, where Barbarity her self is in the Height of her Empire.

The *Indians* about *Rupert's River*, and other Places in the Bay, are more simple than the *Canadans*, who have had longer Commerce with the Europeans. They are generally peaceable, and not given to quarrel either with themselves or others, except the *Nodways*,¹ a wild barbarous People on the Borders of *Hudson's Streights*; who sometimes in slight Parties make Incursions on

¹Eskimos

the other *Indians*, and, having knock'd 8 or 10 on the Head, return in Triumph.

The *Indians* of certain Districhs [*sic*], which are bounded by such and such Rivers, have each an *Okimah*, as they call him, or Captain over them, who is an Old Man, consider'd only for his Prudence and Experience. He has no Authority but what they think fit to give him upon certain Occasions. He is their Speech-maker to the *English*; as also in their own grave Debates, when they meet every Spring and Fall, to settle the Disposition of their Quarters for Hunting, Fowling, and Fishing. Every Family have their Boundaries adjusted, which they seldom quit, unless they have not Success there in their Hunting, and then they join in with some Family who have succeeded.

Their Notions of Religion are but very slender. They say, there are two *Manetoes* or Spirits, the one sends all the Good things they have, and the other all the bad. Their Worship consists in Songs and Dances at their Feasts, in Honour of the *Manetoes* that have favour'd them: But if they are sick or famish'd, they hang some little Bawble, which they set a Value upon, on the Top of a Pole, near their Tent, to pacify the Spirit offended, as they conceive.

Let the Learned say all the fine Things that Wit, Eloquence, and Art, can inspire them with, of the Simplicity of pure Nature, the Beauty and Innocence; these Wretches are an Instance, that this Innocence is downright Stupidity, and this pretended Beauty a Deformity, which puts Man, the Lord of the Creation, on an equal Foot with the Beasts of the Forrest.

The History of *Hudson's Bay* will not afford us much Matter. The Settlements are too inconsiderable, to

deserve much Pains to be taken about them. What we know of them is as follows.

In the Year 1670. the Company sent over *Charles Baily*, Esq; Governour: With whom went Mr. *Radison*, the Frenchman before-mention'd, and 10 or 20 Men, who were to stay on the Place; his Residence being at *Rupert River*, where a mean Fort has been built.

Mr. *Baily* appointed Mr. *Thomas Gorst* to be his Secretary, and order'd him to keep a Journal of their Proceedings there, which is now in my Custody; but the Events it contains are too trivial to be remember'd: what are most curious I shall report; and the Reader must excuse me, if they are of no more Importance: They serve to give him an Idea of an Infant Colony, in one of the rudest Parts of the World.

The chief Indian near the Fort had the Name of Prince given him. Two other Indians were call'd *Peter* and the *Chancellour*; who with their Wives and Families came to the Governour, to beg Subsistance, declaring they could kill nothing, and were almost starv'd. For if these Barbarians could meet with no Game, they had no Meat.

Thus we see in what a miserable Condition these English there were like to be, if Supplies did not come regularly from *England*. Mr. *Baily* having fed the Prince, the Chancellour, his *Cocamish*, or Wife, and the rest of them, sent them up the Falls a fishing, and follow'd them in his *Canoo*, to hunt up in the Country; but could meet with no Game, except 2 Moose, and no People to trade with. These Moose are but indifferent Meat; however, the Air is sharp, to make it relish as well as Venison, and 'twas accordingly very wellcome.

Some Days afterwards the Indians return'd. The

Prince brought a young Deer: The Chancellour and his Wife some Fish and Moose. The greatest Part of the Autumn Fowl here, are Geese, of which there's then Plenty, and they begin to come about the Beginning of *September*, a sure sign that the People must take their Leave of Summer, and prepare for a long Winter of near forty Weeks.

The English had now worse Hutts than afterwards, and no Covering for them but Moose Skins. There was at this time a Factory at *Port Nelson*, where Captain *Gooselier* arriv'd in *August*, 1673. He search'd the River for Indians, but met with none. He saw several *Wigwams*, where they had lately been, and suppos'd them to be gone up the Country. He saw also the Relicts of Sir *Thomas Button's* Ship; and one of his Company, Mr. *Cole*, brought home a piece of Shot, a piece of her Bulkhead, and a small piece of Cable, which had lain there about 60 Years.

This Captain was order'd to search for *Severn* River, but could not find it, tho 'twas in the old Draughts of this Bay.

About the Beginning of *October* the Geese fly away to the Southward; a terrible Sight to the poor Europeans in the Bay; for by that they know the hard Weather is approaching, and begin to provide Wood for Winter before the Snow falls.

Now Mr. *Baily* and his little Colony fell to patching up their Cabbins, and prepare for the Enemy; and they had nothing to fear but the Season. He sent a Sloop to *Point Comfort*, between *Rupert* River and *Charlton* Island, to kill Seals, to make Oil for their Lamps, they having no Candles, and the Nights being long.

About the 10th of *October* the Ice begins to congeal

on the Shores; but often warm Weather comes after that, and thaws it. The 23rd of *October* several Indians came to the Fort to trade; and among others, one from *Quebec*. In one Night the Snow was a Foot deep, and by the 6th of *November* the River was frozen over.

About the middle of the Month Partridges come, of which they kill'd 5, as white as Snow. The English that were there, diverted themselves, while the Weather permitted, with killing Partridges; but truly there seems not to have been much Plenty of them, for four Men, in a Weeks time, kill'd but 36. They Fowl'd for them about *Peter's River*, and *Frenchmans River*; the one above, and the other below *Rupert's*. But in *December* and *January* the Frosts were so severe, they could not stay out. The Governour's Boys Feet and Face were spoil'd by the Frost, in catching of Partridges.

The Snows in the Woods, when at the deepest, are 7 or 8 Foot; sometimes they do not exceed 4 Foot, as in the Year 1673. and then least Moose is to be had. The 25th of *January*, 3 Indians brought Beaver to the Fort, and a little fresh Meat. They reported, that as they past *Moose River*, about 10 Days Journey from *Rupert's*, they saw some dead Bodies of Indians, which they suppos'd to be *Onachanoes*, most of that Nation being destroy'd by the *Nodwayes*, who were then about *Moose River*; and, as they threaten'd, intended to visit the English in the Spring; they were accordingly as good as their Words. The 1st of *February* there was such a Change of Weather, that it rather thaw'd than froze. The English with living on Salt-Meats, were all down with the Scurvy in this Month: For tho they continu'd to catch Partridges, there were so few caught; they went but a very little way among them.

Several Indians came in *March*, and built their *Wigwams* at the East End of the Fort, intending to stay there all Winter, that they might be ready for Trade in the Spring. The Nation that took up their Quarters near the Fort were the *Cuscudidahs*; and the King sent Mr. *Baily* word, he would come to him speedily. The Governour on the 23d of *March*, accompany'd by *John Abraham*, and others, travell'd on the Ice to *Point Comfort*, where were some Indian Tents, to buy what fresh dry'd Meat he could; the Store at the Fort being almost spent.

About the 20th of *March* it began to thaw; and the *Nodwayes* still threatening the English with War, the Governour prepar'd every thing necessary in the Fort for his Defence. On the 25th of *March*, 6 Men, as Ambassadors, came from King *Cuscudidah*, to notify his Approach, and that he would be at the Fort next Day; which he made good, and was troubled that the Governour was absent. He brought a Retinue with him, but little Beaver, the Indians having sent their best to *Canada*.

The English at the Fort stood on their Guard, and Mr. *Cole* commanded them in the Governour's Absence; for whom the King sent 2 Indians. And the 31st of *March*, the Governour return'd, with a small Supply of *Moose* Flesh. On the 1st of *April*, the Geese, the Promise of the Spring, begin to return again, and prodigious Quantities were caught.

All this while the Indian King stay'd at the Wigwams, near the Fort; and the reason of it was, They were apprehensive of being attack'd by some Indians, whom the French Jesuits had animated against the English, and all that dealt with them. The French us'd many Artifices to hinder the Natives trading with the English;

they gave them great Rates for their Goods, and oblig'd Mr. *Baily* to lower the Prices of his, to oblige the Indians, who dwelt about *Moose River*, with whom they drove the greatest Trade.

The French, to ruin their Commerce with the Natives, came and made a Settlement, not above 8 Days Journey up that River, from the Place where the English traded. 'Twas therefore debated, whether the Company's Agents should not remove from *Rupert's* to *Moose River*, to prevent their Traffick being intercepted by the French.

On the 3d of *April*, 1674. a Council of the principal Persons in the Fort was held, where Mr. *Baily*, the Governour, Capt. *Gooselier*, and Capt. *Cole*, were present, and gave their several Opinions. The Governour inclin'd to remove. Capt. *Cole* was against it, as dangerous; and Capt. *Gooselier* for going thither in their Bark to trade, when the Indians belonging to King *Cuscudidah* were gone a hunting, and there was no fear of the Fort's being surpriz'd.

The Indians went to building their Wigwams near the Fort, and rais'd their *Wauscoheigein*, or Fort, so near the English, that the Palisadoes join'd. One of those Barbarians being jealous of his Wife, and finding her in the Fort, pull'd out a Hatchet, which he had hidden under his Coat, and gave her a desperate Wound in the Head; but she did not die of it. The Indian fearing the Governour wou'd punish him for striking in the Fort, fled to the Woods. Upon which Mr. *Baily* order'd that no Indian, but King *Cuscudidah*, and his chief Courtiers, should be admitted into the Fort, and a Watch was set upon the Gate.

As the Ice grew rotten and melted, the Indians who ventur'd on the Rivers fell frequently in; but they all

swam like Ducks, and seldom or never were any of them drown'd. The great Thaw began about the 20th of *April*, and then all the English having spent their Beer, and Winter-Liquor, return'd to drinking of Water.

Geese and Swans were now to be had, and that supply'd in some measure their Want of Provision. The Governour having been cheated by the Indians at *Point Comfort*, in his *Moose Flesh*, went thither, and oblig'd them to make Satisfaction.

On the 20th of *May*, 12 Indians, Subjects to King *Cuscudidah*, came in seven Canoes, and the King meeting them, conducted them to the Fort, where they told him, there would be few or no *Upland* Indians come to trade that Season, the French having perswaded them to come to *Canada*: However Mr. *Baily* order'd the Sloop to be got ready, and resolv'd to go up the River.

Upon the Arrival of this new Company, among whom was the King's Brother, a Feast was made; the Manner of which was this; They all sat down together, and one Man, a Kinsman of the King's, broke the Meat and Fat in small Pieces, according to the Number of Men there. After a short Speech made by the King, the Substance of which was, for them to take Courage against their Enemies, and other Stories. The Company shouted, and then the Man who broke, distributed the Meat about to them, they crying, *Oh! Ho!* as much as to say, *I thank you*. 'Tis incredible, to tell the Abundance of fat Beaver, Moose Flesh, and Fat, they eat together with the Broath, and Fat as black as Ink, which they drink. Then every Man had a small Piece of Tobacco distributed to him, and they all fell to Smoaking. Some afterwards danc'd; some sung, and a Man beat a Drum, which was a Skin put over a Kettle, and lac'd a-thwart.

They continue this commonly all Night, and when they go home, carry what Meat is left to their Sqwaws, it being very rare for them to admit the Women to their Feasts.

On the 22d of *May*, the Indians at their Wigwams, near the Fort, had a *Powwow*, or sort of Conjuring; which is thus, There's a small Tower built, with *Wyth* Sticks, about 8 Foot high, the Top being open; but the rest cover'd very close with Skins, that none may see into it. In the Night, the Man that *Powwows* goes into the Tower; the rest sit nigh it, and in their Places ask him several Questions, which in a manner they know already; as, When any Strangers will be here? The *Powwower* guesses at the time, and answers accordingly. The *Maneto*, or their God, told them, the *Nodways* would come down upon them e're long, and advis'd them to be upon their Guard, as also against the *Mistigooses*, or English.

They *Powwow* often, and upon several Occasions. If it happens not as they expected it would, then the *Maneto* is *Muchocauwan*, or very bad; and if it falls out to their Desires, then *Maneto* is *Moruchsice*, or good. When they kill a Moose, their *Maneto* is *White* and *Good*. When they kill none, then he is *Black* and *Naught*. They *Powwow* very much when they celebrate any Marriages. Every Man has commonly two Wives, whom they keep in great Subjection, and make 'em do all Slavery; as draw *Sledds*, cut Wood, make Fires, and dress Moose Hides. The Men only hunt, and kill the Game: The Women fetch the Beast that is kill'd, and take Care to preserve the Flesh.

The next Day the Governour, and some English and Indians arm'd, went down to the Bottom of the Bay,

to *Frenchmens* River, to seek for the *Nodways*, but could meet with none.

At the latter end of *May* the Geese go to the Northward, to breed. On the 27th, about 50 Men, Women and Children, came in 22 Canoes, to trade, but brought little or no Beaver with them. They were of the Nation call'd *Pishhapocanoes*, near a-kin to the *Eskeimoes*, and both alike a poor beggarly People: By which we may perceive the French ran away with the best of the Trade.

The Governour having got every thing ready for a Voyage to *Moose River*, sent Capt. *Gooselier*, Capt. *Cole*, Mr. *Gorst*, my Author, and other English Indians, to trade there. They got about 250 Skins; and the Captain of the *Tabittee* Indians inform'd them, the French Jesuits had not brib'd the Indians, not to deal with the English, but to live in Friendship with the Indian Nations in League with the French. He blam'd the English for trading with such pitiful Nations, as the *Cuscudidahs* and *Pishhapocanoes*, advising them to settle at *Moose Sebee*, and the *Upland* Indians would come down and trade with them. The Reason they got no more Peltry now, was, because the Indians thought *Gooselier* was too hard for them, and few would come down to deal with him.

My Author, in this Voyage, past by *Robinson* Island, *Willow* Island, and saw several *White* Whales. The Musketoos are extreemly troublesome in *May* and *June*, especially after Rains. The *Nodways* coming down within a Quarter of a Mile of the Fort, the Alarm was given the English and Indians; but the Enemy were afraid to come farther; and Mr. *Baily* with a Party of both, pursu'd them in their Retreat, but could not come near enough to do any Execution.

This Fright being over, Mr. *Baily* sail'd himself for

Moose Sebee, and brought home 1500 Skins; the *Shechittawams*, 50 Leagues from that River, having come to trade with him. By the 24th of *June* all the Indians had left their Wigwams near the Fort, and were gone abroad to hunt and trade, some with the English, and some by themselves.

The Governour undertook a Voyage to discover *Shechittawam* River;¹ and thence intended to coast along to Port *Nelson*, where as yet was no Fort. In the mean time Mr. *Gorst*, who was left Deputy at the Fort, sent a Yaul, and four Men well arm'd, up the *Nodways* River, which, as high as they could go for the *Falls*, was 5 Miles broad, full of small Islands and Rocks; in which Geese breed.

By the Beginning of *August*, the English that remain'd at the Fort had almost spent all their Provisions, their Powder and Shot, and began to be in mortal dread of starving. They kill'd Ducks, Teal, and Plover, and some of them were always out, for their Lives depended upon it.

After about 2 Months Voyage, Mr. *Baily* return'd, and gave this Account of his Voyage in the Sloop. On the 16th of *July* he sail'd from *Moose River*, and arriv'd at *Schettawam* River on the 18th, where no Englishman had been before. He stay'd there till the 21st, but could meet with little or no Beaver.

'Tis a fine River, and a good Channel, to the N.W. in 52 Deg. N.L. He treated with the King, and his Son made them a Promise to come with a Ship and trade with them the next Year. In return, they assur'd him, they would provide Store of Beaver, and bring the *Upland* Indians down.

¹Albany river.

The 21st he set sail towards *Cape Henrietta Maria*, and saw a great Island, stretching N.N.W. and S.S.E. distant about 14 Leagues from the Mouth of *Shechittawam* River. The Island being two Days Journey in Circumference, Indian Padling, which they account to be 30 Leagues; 'twas nam'd *Viner's* Island.¹

The 23rd, upon a Point, as he and his Crew were sailing along Shore, they spy'd a great Smoak; they stood in for it, and found 7 distress'd Indians there. This Point lay in 52 Deg. 40 Min. The Governour took them in, and gave them Passage to a small River, call'd *Equon*, 100 Leagues to the Southward of it; where they saw the Bodies of some Indians dead on the Ground. There had been a great Mortality among them, and several were starv'd to Death for want of Food; this Country being such a miserable Wilderness, that it affords not sufficient Sustenance for the wretched Inhabitants.

On the 27th of *July*, the Sloop ran upon Ice, and had like to have founder'd. Their Pilot was a *Washahoe*, or *New Severn* Indian, and 'twas reported, that he had two Rows of Teeth; but he hated so much to see the Compass, that he was very troublesome to the Crew; so the Governour order'd him to be put ashore.

The Indians on *New Severn* River are as poor as the *Eiskemoes*; and indeed all the Northward Indians are more beggarly and brutal than the Southward. The Governour understanding by some *Washahoe* Indians, there was no Beaver to be had, and that the Sea beyond the Cape was full of Ice, resolv'd to return, neither he nor his Company having eaten any thing in two Days, but a few sodden Pease and Oat-Meal.

In their Return they were forc'd a-shore upon *Charlton*

¹Akimiski island

Island, where they lay 2 or 3 Days in Distress, and at last got off, with the loss of several Necessaries. After he had return'd to the Fort, on the 30th of *August*, a Canoo arriv'd at *Rupert's* River, with a Missionary Jesuit, a Frenchman¹ born of English Parents, attended by one of *Cuscudidah's* Family, a young Indian. The Frier brought a Letter to Mr. *Baily* from the Governour of *Quebec*, dated the 8th of *October*, 1673. For the Priest should have been at *Rupert's* River several Months before, but that he was stop'd by the Indians. The Governour of *Quebec* desir'd Mr. *Baily* to treat the Jesuit civilly, on account of the great Amity between the two Crowns; and Mr. *Baily* resolv'd to keep the Jesuit till Ships came from *England*.

He brought a Letter also for Capt. *Gooselier*, which gave Jealousy to the English of his corresponding with the French; his Son-in-law liv'd at *Quebec*, and had accompany'd the Priest part of his Way, with 3 other Frenchmen, who being afraid to venture far among strange Indians, return'd.

The *Tabitsee* Indians being within the *Hudson's Bay* Company's Pattent, 'twas an Encroachment for the French to trade with them; the Jesuit confess'd they did it. Mr. *Baily* cloath'd him, the Indians having rob'd him; and entertain'd him with great Kindness. The Priest resolving to return to *Europe* in an English Ship, did not like another Journey of 400 Miles Length, thro' many barbarous Nations, over Land, and a Country almost impassable.

The English were frequently allarm'd with Reports of Incursions from the *Nodways* and *Moose* River Indians, whose Quarrel with him, was their selling too dear. The

¹Father Albanel.

Governour, to prevent being surpriz'd, order'd all their Merchandize to be put aboard a Bark that was left with them, and went to fish and fowl at *Peter's River*; but got little Fowl, and their Fishing-Tackle began to want Supplies. 'Twas now the 11th of *September*, and so long had these poor Men liv'd in this Desart, holding a precarious Being by their Guns and Fishing Tackle. Their Patience was at last spent, and the Governour declar'd, if he did not hear from *England* in 3 Days time, he would return home aboard the before-mention'd Bark.

On the 17th they were all to depart for *Point Comfort*, to stay there till the 22d, and then make the best of their Way for *England*. For later than the 22d of *September*, no Ships had ever arriv'd: All the Flower and Bread they had left, did not make above 300 Pound. They had but 2 Barrels of good Pease, and 30 Geese in Pickle, to victual their Bark with for their Voyage; and having but a very little Powder in the Store-house, they despair'd of killing much more Game.

In this deplorable Condition were they, when the Jesuit, Capt. *Gooselier*, and another Papist, walking downwards to the Sea-side, at their Devotion, heard 7 great Guns fire distinctly. They came home in a Transport of Joy, told their Companions the News, and assur'd them 'twas true. Upon which they fir'd 3 great Guns from the Fort, to return the Salute, tho they could ill spare the Powder upon such an Uncertainty.

Next Day an Indian came, and gave them notice, that he had heard great Guns last Night at *Attisawyem*, or *Point Comfort*. Their Sloop was then at the Point, and they expected every Minute to have the News confirm'd.

One may imagine with what Impatience they waited.

The Day was well nigh spent, and no Sloop come, which threw them all into Despair. In the Evening the Sloop appear'd in the River, but having no Ensign out, they concluded they were all lost Men; and in this Extremity of Sorrow, they were soon reviv'd by the Sight of 5 Englishmen, whom they had not seen before, and from whom they understood, the *Prince Rupert*, Capt. *Gillam* Commander, was arriv'd, with the new Governour, *William Lyddal*, Esq;

The next Day the old Governour, and Mr. *Gorst*, sail'd for *Point Comfort*, where the *Shaftsbury*, Capt. *Shepherd* Commander, arriv'd also from *England*. And the new Governour's Commission and Instructions being read, all Hands set to work, to refit and load the Ships home as soon as possible.

On the 18th of *September* Mr. *Lyddal* landed, and took Possession of the Fort, the Colours flying, and Guns firing, to salute him. Mr. *Baily* deliver'd him the Pattent, and after that he was no more call'd Governour. Mr. *Lyddal* finding the Season would be so far spent, before the Ships could be unloaden and loaden again, that it would be impracticable to return; after several Councils, 'twas resolv'd, they should Winter at *Rupert's* River; and Capt. *Gillam*, and Capt. *Shepherd's* Ships Crews were employ'd to cut Timber, to build Houses for them, as also a Brew-house and Bake-house in the Fort.

The Provisions they brought, fell very short of the Complement of Men that were to be fed by them. They had 30 Men to feed in the Fort, and in the Houses; and but 10 Months Bread for them, at 5 Pound of Flower a Head weekly, which was not enough to last them all the Winter at Land, and victual their Ships too. Mr. *Gorst*, who was their Store-keeper, soon brought them

to short Allowance, to husband their Store, but the Men murmur'd; and Mr. *Lyddal* order'd they should have full Allowance, saying, *If we starve, we'll starve altogether.*

By this means they were reduc'd to great Streits, and forc'd to pinch harder than they needed have done, had they been good Husbands of their Bread at first.

Such was the State of this Infant Settlement, and it has not mended much since; for Want and Cold have every Year endanger'd the Lives of all that have been there.

Before we proceed in our History, we shall communicate to the Reader a small Dictionary of the Language of the *Indians* at the Bottom of the Bay, which is like the rest distinguish'd by several Dialects, but this is the *Cuscudidah's*.

<i>Arakana</i> , Bread.	<i>Pishshish</i> , a little thing.
<i>Astam</i> , Come hither.	<i>Pastosigon</i> , a Gun.
<i>Assinne</i> , Shot.	<i>Pistosigon a hish</i> , a Pistol.
<i>Apit</i> , a Fire-Steel.	<i>Pihickeman</i> , a Jack-Knife.
<i>Arremitogisy</i> , to speak.	<i>Petta a shum. e.</i> give me a Piece.
<i>A Notch</i> , presently.	<i>Pe quish a con Gau Mowon</i> , I eat some Pudding.
<i>Chickahigon</i> , a Hatchet.	<i>Spog. m.</i> , a Pipe.
<i>Eskon</i> , a Chissel.	<i>Stenna, i</i> , Tobacco.
<i>Manitowghigin</i> , a Red-Coat.	<i>Soth. im. m.</i> Red-Lead.
<i>Metus</i> , Stockings.	<i>Shekahoon</i> , a Comb.
<i>Mokeman</i> , Knives.	<i>Taney</i> , Where.
<i>Mickedy</i> , or } Powder.	<i>Tinesonec. iso</i> , what do you call this?
<i>Pickow</i> ,	<i>Tequan</i> , What do you say?
<i>Mekish</i> , Beads.	<i>Tapoy</i> , that true.
<i>Moustodawbish</i> , a Flint.	
<i>No mun-niss e to ta</i> , I do not understand you.	
<i>Owma</i> , this.	

Tho, with this, I must leave my Journal; from other good Memoirs, I shall continue the History to the present time.

Mr. *Baily*, who had very well discharg'd his Trust, returning to *England*, inform'd the Company fully of their Affairs; and now as they advanc'd in Reputation, so they were industrious to encrease their Trade and Settlements. They appointed a *Trader* to act under the Governour and Chiefs of the Factories, at other Rivers, according as they were settled.

Port *Nelson* was the next Settlement which they made, and thither they sent *John Bridger* [*sic*], Esq; with the Character of Governour for the *Hudson's-Bay* Company of the *West Main*, from Cape *Henrietta Maria*, which was included in the Governour of the *East Main's* Pattent.

Mr. *Lyddal* was succeeded by *John Nixon*, Esq; in whose time the Company thought of removing their chief Factory from *Rupert's* River to *Chickewan* River, as the Place most resorted to by the *Indians*.

Charlton Island was now frequented by the Ships bound to *Hudson's-Bay*, and made the Place of Rendezvous for all the Factors to bring their Merchandise to, and load it there aboard the Company's Ship.

In the Year 1682. Mr. *Bridger* embark'd for Port *Nelson*, where a Factory was to be establish'd, and a Fort built; but before he arriv'd, Cap. *Benjamin Gillam*, Master of a *New-England* Ship, and Son of Cap. *Gillam*, Commander of the Prince *Rupert*, then in the Company's Service, settled at that Factory; but had not been there above 14 Days, before Mr. *Radisson* and Cap. *Gooselier*, who had deserted the *English*, arriv'd from *Canada*.

The Company having dismiss'd them their Service, these two *French-men* in Revenge procur'd some Mer-

chants of *Canada* to undertake a Settlement there. *Gillam* was not strong enough to repel them, but he remain'd at Port *Nelson*; where 10 Days after *Radisson* and *Gooselier's* Arrival, came Mr. *Bridger*. The *French* no sooner perceiv'd he was come, but they sent aboard his Ship immediately, and commanded him to be gone, for that Mr. *Raddison* and Cap. *Gooselier* had taken Possession of the Place for the *French* King their Master.

Mr. *Bridger*, being warranted so to do by the Company's Commission, unloaded some of his Goods, and with all Hands went to Work, in order to make a Settlement.

Raddison continu'd at Port *Nelson*; and Mr. *Bridger* and he became very intimate: Which Intimacy lasted from *October*, 1682. to the *February* following, when *Raddison* seiz'd *Bridger* and *Gillam*, with all their People and Effects.

Having kept them some Months in a sort of Imprisonment, about *August* the *French* put several of the Company's and *Gillam's* People aboard a rotten Bark, and they were taken up by an *English* Ship near Cape *Henrietta Maria*. *Bridger* and *Gillam* they carry'd with them to *Canada*, where *Raddison* and *Gooselier* ran some of their Cargo ashoar, intending to defraud their Employers.

After which they made their Escape, and got into *France*. The Company having Notice of it, writ to him [*Radisson*], and he to the Company, promising, if they would forgive the Injury he had done them, and employ him again, at such a Sallary, he would undertake to deliver the *French*, whom he had left there till he came again, to them, and seize all the Furs they had traded for, which would make them Satisfaction for the Wrongs

he had done them. Accordingly they forgave him, employ'd him again, and he took Port *Nelson* from his Country-men. But before his Arrival Cap. *John Abraham* had been there with Supplies of Stores; and finding Mr. *Bridger* was gone, he stay'd himself, and was continu'd Governour by the Company, in 1684.

In the preceding Year, Mr. *Nixon*, Governour of *Rupert's* River, was recall'd, and *Henry Sergeant*, Esq; made Governour. By whose Instructions we find the chief Factory was remov'd from *Rupert's* to *Moose-Sebee*, or *Chickewan* River, which has ever since been call'd *Albany* River; where a Fort was built, a Factory settled, and the Governour made it the Place of his Residence. 'Tis at the Bottom of the Bay, below *Rupert's* River. He was order'd to come every Spring, as soon as the Trade was over, to *Charlton* Island, and bring what Goods he had with him, to wait for the Arrival of the Company's Ships: From thence he was to visit the other Factories, and see that their Merchandise was sent in due time to *Charlton* Island, to attend the Ships Arrival.

The Governour of *Canada* having given the *Hudson's-Bay* Company to understand, the *French* were very much offended at their Discoveries in these Parts, Mr. *Sergeant* was order'd to be careful that he was not surpriz'd by them.

There is an Island in the Bottom of the Bay, call'd *Hay's* Island, where a Factory had been settled. This Isle and *Rupert's* River were near the *French*, *Albany* being more to the Southward; and of these Factories the Company were most apprehensive that their Enemies would endeavour to dispossess them.

We perceive by these Instructions, that their Servants in the Bay had been very unfaithful to them, and Inter-

lopers invaded their Privileges. They appointed Mr. *Hugh Verner* to be chief at *Rupert's* River, and Mr. *George Geyer* and Mr. *Thomas Savage* to be chief Managers at the *Isinglass* River, which had been lately discover'd; and there were great Expectations of a mighty Advantage to the Company by that Discovery, but it came to nothing, tho there was a Factory settled there, in order to promote it.

The Company intended to plant a Colony at *Charlton* Island, and order'd Mr. *Sergeant* to build a Fort there, and always keep some Men upon it. Warehouses were also built to receive the Furs that were brought thither from the Factories, and Conveniences were made for the Reception of such as were oblig'd to winter there. The Company always enjoyn'd their Governours to endeavour to save the great Charge they were at in sending constant Supplies of Provisions, by planting Corn and other Grain there. But alas! Tho the Climate by its Distance from the Sun, should be as warm as ours; yet for Reasons, which the Naturalists will easily give us, 'tis so cold and frosty, that it kills almost all sorts of Roots in the Ground which are sown there; and those Plantations, so often recommended by the Company, were chimerical and impracticable.

Orders were also given to dismiss Cap. *Gillam* their Service, for his Sons Offences; and Cap. *Sandford* had the same Usage, on Account of his Relation to the *Gillam's*; for there's nothing so terrible to a Monopolizer, as an Interloper. Cap. *William Bond*, who had been under Mr. *Baily*, was sent for home; and other Regulations made in the Management of Affairs: But all could not hinder the Ruin of them all by the Enemy.

The Company, by their Governours and Agents, made

such Compacts with the Captains or Kings of the Rivers and Territories where they had Settlements, for the Freedom of Trade there, exclusive of all others, that the *Indians* could not pretend they had encroach'd upon them. These Compacts were render'd as firm as the *Indians* could make them, by such Ceremonies as were most sacred and obligatory among them.

Now were the Company in Possession of five Settlements, viz. *Albany* River, *Hayes* Island, *Rupert* River, *Port Nelson*, and *New Severn*. Their Trade at each of them was considerable. From *Albany* River they had generally 3500 Beavers a Year; and by Mr. *Sergeant's* great's Care and Fidelity, their Commerce encreas'd so much, that the *French* began to be afraid all the *Upland Indians* might be drawn down to the Bay. They knew they could do any thing with King *James II.* who then reign'd in *England*, and that no Affront would make that Prince break with *Lewis* the XIVth. Wherefore they resolv'd to drive the *English* out of all their Places in the Bottom of the Bay. First, they took *Hayes* Island, and then the Fort on *Rupert's* River. The *French* Company at *Canada* procur'd a Detachment of Soldiers to be sent under the Chevalier *de Troyes*; who came over Land from *Quebec*, and in a time of profound Peace committed these Acts of Hostility.

'Tis worth observing that the *French* have so good an Opinion of their *American* Colonies, as to take not only all lawful, but even unlawful Means to preserve and enlarge them, as contemptible as they are in themselves; whereas the *English*, who, next the *Spaniards*, have the richest Plantations in that Part of the World, have been as negligent of them as if they were not worth keeping.

The 8th of *July*, 1686. the Chevalier *de Troyes* came

before the Fort at *Albany* River; where the Governour, Mr. *Sergeant*, then resided. Two *Indians* had inform'd him of their having surpriz'd the Forts at *Hayes* Island, and *Rupert* River, and had brought with them the great Guns from those Places.

Two Hours after, the *English* heard them discharge their Guns, and saw some of them at a Distance. Upon which part of the Company's Servants declar'd, they would not venture their Lives unless they might be assur'd of Pay, and sent *John Parsons* and *John Garret*, two of their Number, in all their Names, to the Governour, to tell him their Resolutions. Mr. *Sergeant*, by Promises, and giving them Cloaths, and other Necessaries, prevail'd with them to return to their Charge. But in a Day or two they mutiny'd again, and *Elias Turner* the Gunner, possess'd the People with an Apprehension, that it was impossible to hold out the Place; declaring, that for his Part he would throw himself on the *French*. Accordingly he went to the Governour, and desir'd Leave so to do; but being threatened to be shot to Death, in case he attempted it, he was at last perswaded to return to his Post.

The *English* shot at the *French* as long as they appear'd in the *Brushes*, and forc'd them to retire under the Banks, where the Guns from the Fort could not hit them. The *French* shot only at the *English* with small Shot, as any of them appear'd upon the *Flankers*. When they had retir'd under the Banks, they set to work to entrench themselves, and cast up a great Bank of Earth, which cover'd them so, that the *English* could do no Execution upon them.

The Governour all this while imagin'd, the Enemy was only raising a Bank to secure themselves from the

Shot of the Fort: But afterwards he perceiv'd they were preparing a Battery; and then he commanded the Guns of the Fort to fire upon them incessantly, which however did them no hurt.

Frederic Johnson, who officiated as Gunner, on *Turner's* refusing to act, advis'd Mr. *Sergeant* not to shoot away the Remainder of the great Shot in the Fort, there being not above a Round more; and he suppos'd the *French* must have brought their Guns by Water; if so, he hop'd to sink their Boats; which would have done more Service, than firing upon their Entrenchments. But the *French* had found a Way to bring their great Guns thro' the Woods, and had planted them on their Battery before the *English* saw them.

The Governour sent out *Francis Cave* and *John Michem*, to see if they could observe the Posture of their Enemies; and the Spies brought Word, that they had finish'd their Battery, and mounted their Guns, which they saw them load.

This so disheartned the People, that assembling themselves together, they agreed to depute the most considerable among them to go to the Governour, and in all their Names press him to make the best Terms he could, and surrender the Fort. Accordingly *Edward Coles*, *Philip Scovell*, *Hugh Mitchel*, *William Arrington*, *William Holder*, *John Stephens*, and others, came to Mr. *Sergeant*, and declar'd, they would stand by him no longer; alledging, 'twas in vain to think they should be able to hold out. They added, If any of them should loose a Leg or an Arm, or be kill'd, they had Reason to doubt, whether the Company would take Care of them, their Wives, or Children, instancing the Case of one *Coleburn*; wherefore they demanded of him to capitulate.

In the mean time the *French* fir'd upon the *Flankers*; and the *English*, whatever the Governour commanded them to the contrary, abandon'd their Posts. He refus'd to beat a Parley, and threatened those that would not do their Duty.

The Enemy's Shot had made a Breach in the *Flankers*; and damag'd the Houses in the Fort. Upon which, and the repeated Desires of the Men, who said, *The Year would be so far spent, that they could not hope to get home, but must be starv'd if the Factory should be taken*, the Governour consented to a Parley; Mr. *Bridger* assuring him the Enemy were *Mining* them, and they should certainly be blown up: Cap. *Outlaw* also agreed to capitulate, and the white Flag was hung out. After which a Treaty was concluded, and is as follows.

ARTICLES agreed upon between the Chevalier *de Troyes*, Commander in Chief of the Detachment of the *North-West*, for the *French* Company at *Canada*; and *Henry Sergeant*, Esq; Governour of the *English* Company of *Hudson's-Bay*, July 16. 1686.

Imprimis. **I***T is agreed upon to deliver up the Fort, together with all the Goods belonging to the said Company, which are to be schedul'd for the mutual clearing of us the fore-nam'd, and Satisfaction of all Parties.*

II. *That all the Company's Servants at Albany River shall enjoy all Wearing Apparel belonging to themselves.*

III. *That the aforesaid Henry Sergeant, Esq; Governour, shall enjoy and possess all that belongs to himself; and that his Minister, his three Men Servants and Maid Servant, shall constantly be permitted to remain with him, and attend him.*

IV. *That the Chevalier de Troyes shall convey all the Company's Servants to Charlton Island, there to expect English Ships for their Transportation; and if English Ships should not arrive, then the aforesaid Chevalier de Troyes is to assist them with what Vessels the Country affords, for their Conveyance into England.*

V. *That the said Chevalier de Troyes shall deliver to the said Henry Sergeant, Esq; Governour, or to his Store-house-Keeper, such Provisions as shall be thought fitting and necessary to carry them for England, if no Ships come from thence, and in the mean time give them such Sustenance as shall be sufficient for them.*

VI. *That all the Store-houses shall be lock'd up, and the Keys deliver'd to the said Chevalier de Troyes's Lieutenant that nothing may be in the said Store-houses embezzled, till the Account be taken, according to the First Article.*

Lastly, *That the Governour and all the Company's Servants at Albany River, shall come out of the Fort, and deliver it up to the said Chevalier de Troyes; all Men, the Governour and his Son excepted, being without Arms, which is to be forthwith.*

Accordingly the Fort was surrender'd, but the *French* made no Scruple to break so much of the Articles as they could get any thing by; for they plunder'd Mr *Sergeant* of all his Goods, and sent him and his Family away in a very ordinary Bark, ill supply'd with Provisions: Such is the Honour of that Nation.

The Company, notwithstanding it appears very plain by the above-mention'd Account, which was sworn to before *Samuel Keck*, Esq; a Master in *Chancery*, that the Governour did all he could to defend the Fort,

us'd him at his Return to *England* as barbarously almost as the *French* had done; but his Majesty was pleas'd to take him into his Service, which was the best Justification of his Conduct.

At this time, *Thomas Phips*, Esq; was Governour of Port *Nelson*, which was not then taken by the *French*; and the Company expected Fort *Albany* would have been restor'd to them in King *James's* time, but all their Sollicitations were in vain, and all the Settlements they had, Port *Nelson* excepted, were abandon'd to the *French*. King *William*, in his Declaration of War against the *French* King, takes this particular Notice of *de Troyes's* invading *Hudson's-Bay*, and destroying the *English* Factories there, as the *French* had done in other Places. *But that the French King should invade our Charibbee-Islands, and possess himself of our Territories of the Province of New-York, and Hudson's-Bay, in a hostile manner, seizing our Forts, burning our Subjects Ships, and enriching his People with the Spoil of their Goods and Merchandizes, detaining some of our Subjects under the Hardship of Imprisonment, causing others to be inhumanly kill'd, and driving the rest to Sea in a small Vessel, are Actions not becoming even an Enemy; and yet he was so far from declaring himself so, that at that very time he was negotiating here in England by his Ministers a Treaty of Neutrality and good Correspondence in America.* Such was King *William's* Judgment of his Fraud and Violence, which his Predecessor, with an unparallel'd Complacency, excus'd.

The War breaking out, as has been said, between the two Nations, the *Hudson's-Bay* Company solicited for Soldiers to be sent thither to recover their Settlements; and in the Year 1693. they retook all the Forts and

Factories, which the *French* had taken from them in time of Peace.

In which Expedition they met with no more Difficulties than the *Chevalier de Troyes* had met with. Cap. *Grinnington* was the Person employ'd for this Service; and *John* [*James*] *Knight*, Esq; was appointed Governour of Fort *Albany*: But his Government was of no long Continuance; for in a little time the *French* sent such a Power against the *English*, that they again drove them from all their Settlements in the Bottom of the Bay.¹

The *French* Company made *Monsieur de la Fores* Governour of Fort *Albany*, and garrison'd all the Forts they had taken; which made it necessary for the Government to send a stronger Power than the Company could raise to recover them.

The King of *England*, to protect their Trade, assign'd them two Men of War for their Service, in the Year 1696. as the *Bonaventure*, Cap. *Allen* Commander, and the *Seaford*.

Cap. *Allen*, coming into the River *Hayes*, sent to summon all the Forts to surrender; and the *French* Governour finding he could not defend them against the *English*, capitulated, and on the 2d of *August*, 1696. surrender'd *Albany*² Fort, upon certain Articles; the Chief of which were, *That all those in the Fort, as well French as Indians, and one Englishman, the Governour's Servant, should have their Lives and Liberties, and that no Harm or Violence should be done to their Persons, or any thing that belong'd to them; That they should march out with their*

¹There is considerable confusion about the statement here. The French never took Fort Albany after it was taken by the English in 1693, but they took York Factory in 1694 and when Iberville left York in 1695 he left M. de la Forest in charge.

²This is an error for York Fort or Fort Bourbon.

Arms, Drums beating, Colours flying, Match lighted at both ends, Ball in Mouth, and carry with them the two Guns they brought from France; That they should all embark with their Cloaths and Goods, without being visited or pillag'd in any thing; and if they met with any French Vessels, there should be a Truce between the English and them; and the said French Vessels should be permitted to take aboard the Persons that came out of the said Fort, with all that belong'd to them. These Conditions were a little too honourable to grant, but not to be comply'd with.

Cap. *Allen* took the Governour, and some of his Men, aboard his own Ship; some he put aboard the *Seaford*, and the rest aboard a Merchant-Man, call'd the *Dering*.

In his Return, he fought the *Mary Rose* Frigate, then a *French Privateer* of 50 Guns, and was kill'd in the Engagement, which gave the *Frenchman* an Opportunity to bear away.

As to the other two Forts, they follow'd the Fate of *Albany*, and Mr. *Knight* was restor'd to his Government. At which time, *John Geyer*, Esq; was Governour of Port *Nelson*. Mr. *Knight* had serv'd Mr. *Sergeant* while he was Governour of Fort *Albany*, and was well acquainted with the Trade.

In the Year 1697. the *Hampshire* Frigate, and Owners *Love* Fire-ship, two of the King's Ships, were lost in this Bay, and all the Men drown'd. Indeed the Ice renders it so dangerous, that the Commerce seems not to be worth the Risk that is run for it. Whether those two Ships ran against those frozen Mountains that float in that Sea, or founder'd, is not known; but 'tis certain, they were lost, and that all the Men perish'd.

The Trade to this Bay has decreas'd, ever since the

use of Beavers has fallen off in *England*. Peltry is not now the Commodity it was, and this Company of Consequence does not make the Figure they did 13 or 14 Years ago.

In the present War, they lost Port *Nelson* to the *French*; and have either given up, or deserted all their Settlements, except Fort *Albany*; where Mr. *Knight* manag'd their Affairs, till the Year 1706. when he was succeeded by

John Fullerton, Esq; the present Governour at *Albany* River.

[*In addition to the foregoing pages, which were copied from the 1708 edition of The British Empire in America, the following additional paragraphs appeared in the 1741 edition.*]

Notwithstanding the pressing Instance I made to the concerned in the *Hudson's-Bay* Trade for Information to continue the Account of it down to this time; it not being yet come to Hand, I am obliged to be short therein; though I was very desirous to have enlarged a little upon it, on Account of the present Revival of the Fur-Trade; but must content myself with adding only, that the Company's Factories and Fortifications, which the *French* had taken, were restored to them by the Peace of *Utrecht* in the following Articles.

Article X. *The said Most Christian King shall restore to the Kingdom and Queen of Great Britain, to be possess'd in full Right for ever, the Bay and Streights of Hudson, together with all Lands, Seas, Sea-Coasts, Rivers and Places situate in the said Bay and Streights, and which belong thereto, no Tracts of Land or Sea being excepted, which are at present possess'd by the Subjects of France. All which, as well*

as any Buildings there made, in the Condition they now are, and likewise all Fortresses there erected, either before or since the French seized the same, shall, within six Months from the Ratification of the present Treaty, or sooner if possible, be well and truly deliver'd to the British Subjects, having Commission from the Queen of Great Britain to demand and receive the same, intire and undemolished, together with all the Cannon and Cannon-Ball which are therein, as also with a Quantity of Powder, if it be there found, in Proportion to the Cannon-Ball, and with the other Provision of War usually belonging to Cannon. It is however provided, that it may be entirely free for the Company of Quebec, and all other Subjects of the Most Christian King whatsoever, to go by Land or by Sea, whithersoever they please, out of the Lands of the said Bay, together with all their Goods, Merchandizes, Arms and Effects, of what Nature or Condition soever, except such things as above reserved in this Article, &c.

Article XI. *The above-mentioned Most Christian King shall take Care that Satisfaction be given, according to the Rule of Justice and Equity, to the English Company, Traders to the Bay of Hudson, for all Damage and Spoil done to their Colonies, Ships, Persons and Goods, by the hostile Incursions and Depredations of the French in time of Peace, an Estimate to be made thereof by Commissaries to be named at the Reduction of each Party, &c.*

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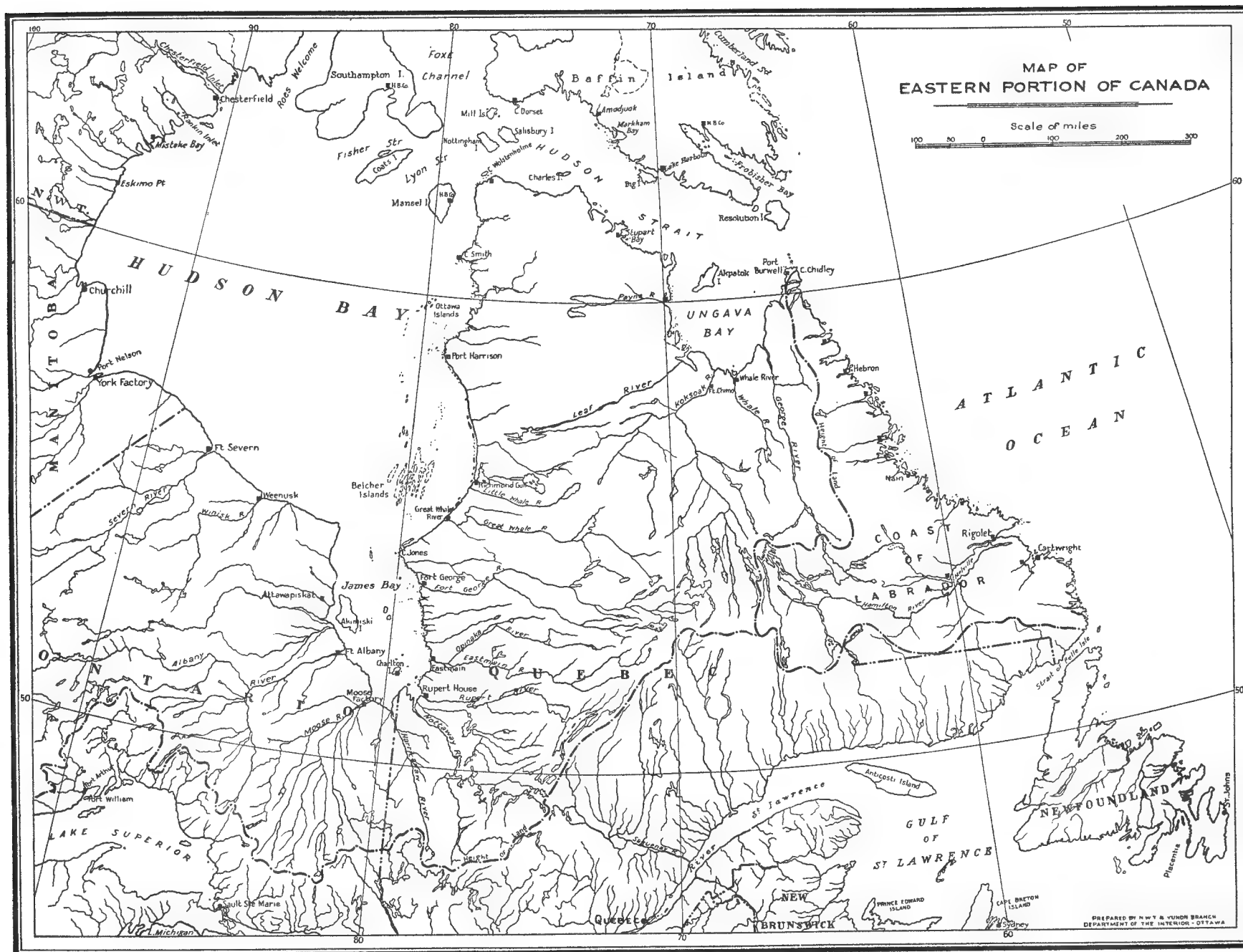
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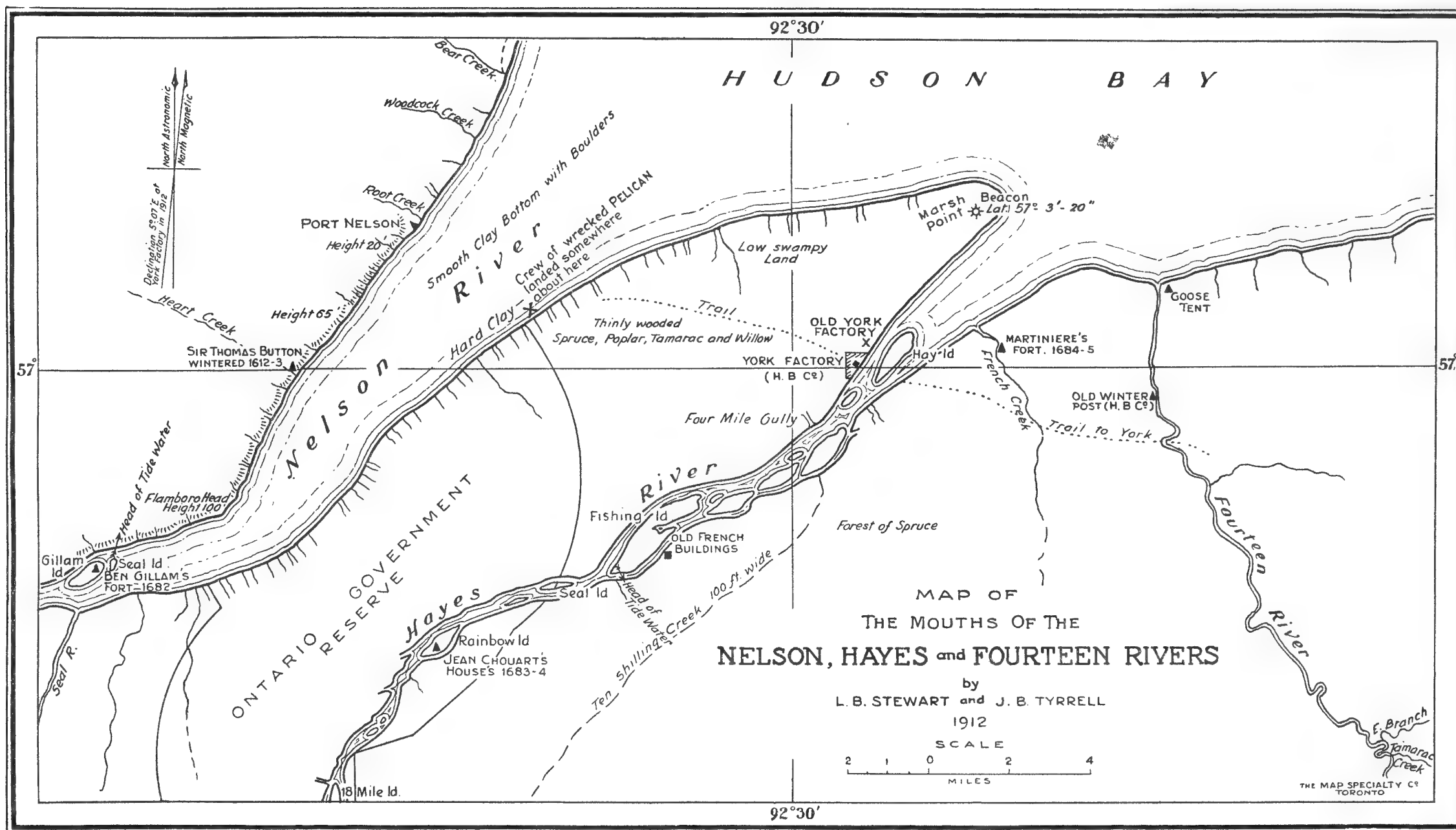
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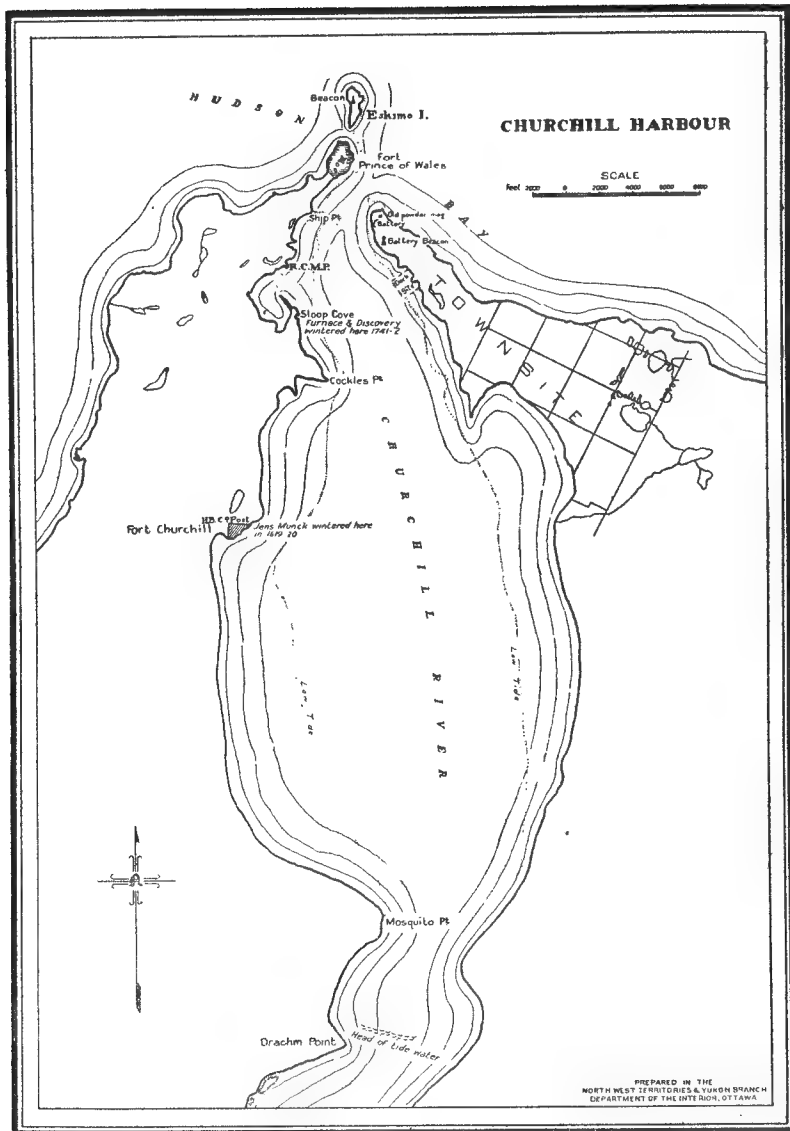
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